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*New West Indian Guide* 87 (2013) 1



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## A True Maverick: The Political Career of Dr. Oswald E. Anderson, 1919-1944\*

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### Abstract

This article examines the political career of the African-Jamaican Dr. Oswald E. Anderson from his entry into local politics in 1919 till his defeat in the first election under universal suffrage in 1944. It will demonstrate that Anderson differed from other black politicians at the time because of his criticism of Crown Colony government, commitment to the welfare of the masses, nationalist fervour and above all his outspokenness about racial discrimination. In addition to describing and explaining why Anderson was such a 'true maverick', the article will also demonstrate that Anderson was a highly ambiguous politician.

### Keywords

Jamaica, decolonization, racial discrimination, health, education, politics

A "fearless critic of government," "staunch defender of the people," and "true patriot" were labels used by contemporaries to describe the black<sup>1</sup> Jamaican politician Dr. Oswald E. Anderson. If he is remembered at all today, it is for his resignation as mayor of the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporation (KSAC) in July 1938 over an advert in the *British Medical Journal* for a health officer for Jamaica, who had to be "of European parentage."

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\* Earlier drafts of this article were presented at the 2011 Social Science History Association conference (Boston) and the 2012 Society for Caribbean Studies conference (Oxford). I benefited greatly from the comments of those in the audience.

<sup>1</sup> The term "black" is used here to denote Jamaicans of African descent, whether light- or dark-skinned.

By condemning this advert as a means to foster “race hatred,” Anderson stood out from other black Jamaican politicians, who ignored racial issues or described them as being about something else than race. But he was not only a maverick in Jamaican politics in terms of his outspokenness about racial issues. Anderson was also more concerned than other black politicians about the welfare of the “inarticulate masses” and refused to align himself with the political parties that emerged in the aftermath of the 1938 labor riots, contesting the first election under universal suffrage in 1944 as an independent candidate.

By examining Anderson’s political concerns from his election onto the St. Andrew Parochial Board in 1919 till his defeat in the 1944 national election, this study will not only confirm his contemporaries’ observation that he stood out from other politicians at the time in his fierce criticism of Crown Colony government, commitment to social welfare, and nationalist fervor but also shed greater light on the decolonization process in the British Caribbean. Between 1919 and 1944, Jamaica witnessed a growth in nationalist consciousness, a shift in demands from representative to responsible government, the formation of political parties, and the allocation of universal suffrage. These early stages of Jamaican decolonization have thus far received scant scholarly attention. Historians working on decolonization in other parts of the region have equally been more concerned with the period after the granting of universal suffrage and shift toward self-government (see Bolland 2006). But Anderson was not only an active participant in Jamaica’s decolonization process, making demands for first representative government and later self-government, he was also a fierce critic of Crown Colony government. Thus an examination of his political career will shed greater light on the nature of colonial rule in the pre-independence British Caribbean. In particular, it will show that it was marked by underinvestment in social welfare and racial discrimination. Like historians of the British Empire (e.g., Hyam 2006), Caribbean historians have not denied that colonial rule depended upon racial discrimination (e.g., Post 1978, Smith 2004) but have not explored in any detail the nature and extent of this discrimination. Unfortunately, Anderson’s personal papers have not been deposited with the Jamaica Archives or the National Library of Jamaica. This study is therefore mainly based on verbatim reports of proceedings of the St. Andrew Parochial Board, the KSAC, and the Legislative Council and

Anderson's election and other speeches published in the *Gleaner*, Jamaica's biggest-selling newspaper at the time.<sup>2</sup>

Before exploring Anderson's participation in Jamaican politics, a few remarks about the island's social structure and political system during the period under consideration are in place. Jamaica followed other parts of the British Caribbean in having a three-tier hierarchy that was carried over from slavery and in which class and color were closely entwined. Predominantly dark-skinned African Jamaicans engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled work were at the bottom, mainly light-skinned and mostly secondary-school educated African Jamaicans in such middle-class occupations as teaching and office work occupied the middle rung, and the less than 2 percent whites, ranging from sugar planters and colonial officials to missionaries and managers of small firms, constituted the top (Alleyne 2002:193). Like its counterparts elsewhere, Jamaica's Legislative Council was presided over by the governor, who held a casting vote, and consisted furthermore of fourteen elected and fourteen ex-officio and nominated members. In spite of high property and income qualifications, African Jamaicans—mostly lawyers, teachers, and ministers—stood in national elections and by the late 1930s constituted the majority of the elected members. Until the formation of the first political party—the People's National Party (PNP)—in September 1938, elected members stood as independents and relied for support on a narrow electoral base—only 10 percent of the population met the property qualifications for the vote. Elected members were excluded from the Privy Council—the executive branch of government—and did not have the right to propose monetary matters but could overrule monetary proposals made by the government if nine voted against. They were also able to veto non-monetary matters if they voted unanimously. Local government consisted of parochial boards, which had to offer water, gas, roads, sanitation, poor relief, and other services and were empowered to levy local rates and taxes

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<sup>2</sup> The verbatim *Gleaner* reports of proceedings of the St. Andrew Parochial Board, the KSAC and the Legislative Council are more comprehensive than the official minutes. The government paid the *Gleaner* £600 a year for its Legislative Council reporters in order to economise on the costs of Hansard reporters. This and also the fact that the governor included in his correspondence with the Colonial Office mainly the reports from the *Gleaner* rather than official minutes suggest that they must be very accurate.

in order to pay for them. They were made up of a nominated custos, the elected member of the Legislative Council for the parish, and nine to fifteen elected others, most of whom were black by the late 1930s (Eisner 1961:373, Lewis 2004:92-7, Wrong 1923:123-35, 181).

### **Alderman, Councilor, and Mayor Anderson**

Anderson was born in 1881 in the parish of St. Catherine. A few years later, his mother Martha married a Baptist minister named James M. Gregory, with whom she had further children.<sup>3</sup> Like many children whose parents wanted them to have a good education but could not afford to send them to a fee-paying secondary school—his family was “without any particular influence, wealth”—Anderson stayed on as a pupil teacher after finishing elementary school. Successful completion of the second of the three pupil teachers’ exams allowed a pupil teacher to apply for a secondary school scholarship. Anderson succeeded in securing a scholarship for Wolmer’s. After graduating from this prestigious school, he trained as a dispenser. He worked for a few years at the Buff Bay hospital and in 1907 moved to the United States, where he did a science degree, followed by a medical degree at Chicago Medical College. By taking his medical degree in the United States, Anderson mirrored many other Jamaican doctors. By the late 1930s, some 21 percent of them had studied in North America.<sup>4</sup>

Anderson returned to Jamaica in 1916 and started his own practice at Cross Roads in St. Andrew. That he did not apply to become a District Medical Officer—the most junior position in the government medical service—was not just because private practice was more remunerative but also the government medical service offered limited scope for promotion. Promotion usually involved transfer to another colony but various colonies were closed to nonwhite doctors. Soon after his return, Anderson joined black-led organizations that advocated far-reaching political and social reforms, including the Jamaica League, an organization set up in

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<sup>3</sup> Evidence suggests that Anderson was an illegitimate child. In one of his speeches, he acknowledged that his father’s surname was Anderson. It was common practice for women to give their illegitimate child the surname of its father in an attempt to encourage him to financially support it.

<sup>4</sup> *Gleaner*, 17 January 1938, 16 November 1938, and 10 September 1948.



*Figure 1.* Oswald E. Anderson.

Source: [http://jamaicansathoward.synthasite.com/Dr\\_Oswald\\_Ethelred\\_Anderson.php](http://jamaicansathoward.synthasite.com/Dr_Oswald_Ethelred_Anderson.php)

1914 that aimed to promote “patriotic sentiments and mutual interests and the encouragement of individual and cooperative efforts for the intellectual and economic improvement of Jamaica” (Richards 2002:349). He also participated in Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Progressive Negro Association, which was founded in 1916 by amongst others the Unitarian minister Ethelred Brown and equally aimed to instill self-respect and race pride. And Anderson also soon took part in election campaigns of black candidates for the Legislative Council, who dared to criticize the government for neglecting the interests of the poor, such as A. Bain Alves, a labor leader. In later years, Anderson also supported the candidature of D. Theo Wint, a school teacher, the Reverend George Lewis Young, J.A.G. Smith, a well-known barrister, and Erasmus Campbell, another barrister.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See *Gleaner*, 21 October 1916, 28 November 1917, 17 February 1919, 13 December 1919, and 3 January 1920.

Considering his civic engagement, it is not surprising that Anderson was elected onto the St. Andrew Parochial Board as early as 1919. As he regarded the amalgamation of the St. Andrew Parochial Board and the Kingston City Council in 1923 a “retrograde step”—the new body had fewer elected members than the two boards combined—he refused to stand in the first election for the KSAC. In 1931, however, he agreed to be co-opted onto the body as alderman. In 1934, he was made deputy-mayor and in 1937 contested the KSAC elections on a ticket of the Kingston and St. Andrew Federation of Citizens Associations, which was not a political party but supported candidates in elections.<sup>6</sup> He overwhelmingly won the election and was unanimously chosen as mayor.<sup>7</sup>

As a practicing doctor, Anderson of course regarded “the health of the community a matter of first importance.”<sup>8</sup> Like other British Caribbean colonies, Jamaica had a medical department run by a white “imported” Superintending Medical Officer. The department employed a number of District Medical Officers, who were expected to hold regular clinics in their area and make home visits but could also carry out private practice. If not in private practice, they charged a minimum fee of four shillings, which was double that charged by their counterparts in Trinidad and Guyana. Men and women unable to pay the fee could obtain a ticket for a reduced fee or free treatment. Yet it was not easy for the poor in Kingston and St. Andrew to use the services of a District Medical Officer as there were only two on a population of 118,000 and very few ticket distributors (Carley 1943:9-17).<sup>9</sup>

Although Anderson regularly highlighted the problems associated with the District Medical Officer and ticket system, his *bête noire* with regards to the health services of the corporate area was the Kingston public hospital and the Jubilee maternity hospital, both of which charged a fee but also

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<sup>6</sup> Citizens’ Associations were first set up in 1908 and aimed to create and maintain public opinion on questions of public affairs. By 1910 most had ceased to exist. Attempts were made to revive them in the 1920s but it was not until the early 1930s before they were again a prevalent feature of Jamaican life. The Kingston and St. Andrew Federation of Citizens’ Associations was set up in 1936.

<sup>7</sup> *Gleaner*, 17 January 1938, and 10 September 1948; “Personality of the month,” *Spotlight* 1, no. 2 (1940): 32.

<sup>8</sup> *Gleaner*, 6 November 1937.

<sup>9</sup> *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, Cmd. 6607 (1944-45), 142-4 and 150-3. Because of the paucity of District Medical Officers, especially in rural districts, private doctors were very common in Jamaica and other parts of the British Caribbean.

operated a ticket system. Like other urban and specialist hospitals in the British Caribbean, the Kingston public hospital and the Jubilee maternity hospital were set up in the late nineteenth century and by the early 1920s suffered from overcrowding, poor sanitation, and lack of staff.<sup>10</sup> To demand an inquiry into conditions at the two hospitals, Anderson often listed cases in which patients, including some of his own, had been refused access or given poor treatment. His colleagues on the St. Andrew Parochial Board and the KSAC fully supported him in these efforts, which had varied success. In 1920, for instance, the Superintending Medical Officer granted a departmental inquiry but it only concluded that in future the rules would be more “strictly observed.”<sup>11</sup> Anderson was more successful in 1932, when his allegations of poor treatment mentioned in a KSAC meeting were reported on the front page of the *Gleaner* and led to a huge public debate as well as a commission to assess his “sensational revelations.” Although the commission concluded that the specific cases of poor treatment mentioned by Anderson were “unfounded,” it did confirm his more general claim of “neglect and carelessness.” It found, for instance, that the Kingston public hospital had 120 beds but accommodated nearly three times as many patients and therefore recommended the enlargement of the hospital as well as an increase in the wages of nursing staff to raise the level of care.<sup>12</sup>

Because the Superintending Medical Officer, Dr. Hallinan, did not take up the recommendations made by the commission, Anderson continued to make “grave allegations” about the Kingston public hospital and the Jubilee maternity hospital. In March 1934, he even accused the white matron of the Jubilee of racial discrimination, when he stated in a KSAC meeting that it was not surprising that she turned away so many women because “they were only black people.”<sup>13</sup> Although the Superintending Medical Officer did not grant an investigation to assess Anderson’s allegations, he did order the enlargement of the Kingston public hospital and the Jubilee maternity hospital and various other improvements.<sup>14</sup> But this victory did not make Anderson less critical of the Superintending Medical Officer. In fact, he became even more outspoken about Hallinan’s disregard for the welfare

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<sup>10</sup> See *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, 145-47.

<sup>11</sup> *Gleaner*, 7 July 1920.

<sup>12</sup> *Gleaner*, 15, 21, 29, 30 March and 27 May 1932.

<sup>13</sup> *Gleaner*, 17 March 1934.

<sup>14</sup> *Gleaner*, 7 May 1934.



of the Jamaican people, culminating in a public meeting he organized in May 1937 that called for the removal of the Superintending Medical Officer from the colony for failing to provide the KSAC with an assistant officer for its public health department—which illustrates that the Jamaican government like those in other British Caribbean colonies was less concerned about preventative than curative medicine—and also more generally for the poor manner in which he ran his department.<sup>15</sup>

But Anderson was not only keen to provide the “inarticulate masses” with access to good medical services; he also wanted them to have the opportunity to move up the social ladder.<sup>16</sup> White-collar jobs in interwar Jamaica required a secondary school certificate. Few children, however, were able to progress from elementary school to one of the twenty-three government-aided secondary schools because of the fees charged and limited scholarships. In fact, by the late 1930s only 1 to 2 percent of all Jamaican children of secondary-school age attended a secondary school.<sup>17</sup> This dual system of education—elementary for the lower classes and secondary for the middle and upper classes—was not unique to Jamaica. In all British Caribbean colonies, there were a few secondary schools set up or maintained by the government that offered only a limited number of scholarships. These schools used English examining bodies, employed mostly English staff and mirrored English public schools in terms of their curriculum, ethos, and organization (Hammond 1946:442-3).<sup>18</sup>

By charging a lower fee than the government-aided secondary schools, private secondary schools offered an important opportunity for poorer children to get the necessary qualifications for a white-collar job. In the late 1930s, the government made attempts to limit the growth of these schools, which Anderson fiercely opposed.<sup>19</sup> But as he fully realized that this form of secondary education was equally out of reach for most Jamaican children,

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<sup>15</sup> *Gleaner*, 11 June 1937.

<sup>16</sup> Except for industrial schools, local government had little responsibility for education. During his time as councilor and alderman, Anderson therefore voiced his opinion about the poor provision of education mostly in speeches for Citizens' Associations and other organizations.

<sup>17</sup> Memorandum Director of Education, 1938-39, Colonial Office (CO) 950/943, The National Archives (TNA), London.

<sup>18</sup> *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, 92-96.

<sup>19</sup> *Gleaner*, 7 July 1936 and 25 January 1938.



*Figure 2.* Elementary school, Jamaica, 1936.

Source: Colonial Office 1069/369/51, The National Archives, London.

Anderson was very concerned to see that elementary schools offered children the best opportunities in life. Like their counterparts elsewhere in the British Caribbean, most of the elementary schools in Jamaica were set up by churches but government paid for the salaries and pensions of teachers, school supplies, and various other expenses. They were free but attendance was only compulsory in a few urban areas. As in other colonies, they were overcrowded and their quality of teaching was low. Most elementary school teachers had come up through the pupil teacher system. In fact, the pupil-teacher ratio (73:1) far exceeded that of Barbados (43:1), Trinidad (67:1), and many other British Caribbean colonies. What also lowered the teaching quality was, as the picture above illustrates, the practice of teaching children of all ages together (Hammond 1946:437-41, 447).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, 97-99.

To improve the quality of elementary education, Anderson first of all demanded, like the Jamaica Union of Teachers, a lowering of the school starting age from seven to five to bring the island more in line with its neighboring colonies. The Jamaican government had set such a high starting age in order to limit expenditure on education, which by the late 1930s made up 10 percent of total expenditure.<sup>21</sup> And second, Anderson strongly criticized government proposals to teach agriculture in elementary schools at the expense of literary subjects, which increased in the 1930s and he interpreted as nothing but attempts to “curtail the education of the masses” and keep them in a serf-like status.<sup>22</sup>

Yet for Anderson elementary schools not only had to offer children opportunities for social mobility, they also had to instill in them pride in their country and heritage and prepare them for their future as Jamaican citizens. Like in other British Caribbean colonies, the curriculum of elementary schools in Jamaica was out of touch with the lives of the pupils and taught them about English flora and fauna, geography, history etc.<sup>23</sup> Anderson therefore recommended, like various other staunch Jamaican nationalists, the inclusion of “national history and geography,” and civics in the elementary school curriculum.<sup>24</sup>

Anderson’s strong opposition to the teaching of agriculture in elementary schools did not mean that he was against vocational education per se. He in fact welcomed the government’s attempts to develop post-elementary vocational education, as he deemed this essential for economic growth. By the late 1930s, there was a technical school in Kingston and three practical training centers and a farm school in the rural parishes. Jamaica mirrored in this regard other colonies in the region. In Trinidad, for example, a board of industrial training provided classes in several centers and there was a technical school in San Fernando (Hammond 1946:445).

Vocational and trade schools featured prominently in the three-day “All-Jamaica Economic and Industrial Conference” that Anderson organized in January 1938. This conference clearly illustrates that Anderson was not only a “fearless” but also a constructive “critic of government.” He was convinced

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<sup>21</sup> *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, 111.

<sup>22</sup> *Gleaner*, 24 October 1932, 9 July 1934, 14 February 1935, 30 June 1936, and 4 January 1938.

<sup>23</sup> *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, 109–10.

<sup>24</sup> See, for instance, *Gleaner*, 14 February 1935.

that unemployment in the corporate area and its concomitant problems, such as malnutrition, could only be dealt with on an island-wide basis and if there was close cooperation between local and central government.<sup>25</sup> The conference therefore brought together some 200 delegates, including industrialists, agriculturalists, representatives from a wide range of voluntary organizations, and members of Parochial Boards and its various resolutions were forwarded to the governor. Although the need to develop local industry occupied a central place on the program, the conference also included sessions on land settlement, agricultural credit, poor relief, old age pensions, and even discussed issues less directly related to economic growth, such as the "personnel of nominated boards," "discrimination by steamship companies," and "how to foster a West Indian culture." The conference was extremely well received, with local leaders describing it as "the best effort put forward in Jamaica over a long period."<sup>26</sup> Yet it did not lead to closer cooperation between local and central government; the governor did not act upon the resolutions.<sup>27</sup> Hence, Anderson's frustration that in spite of the "enthusiasm shown by the people" to discuss Jamaica's economic and social needs, the resolutions had ended up in the "waste-paper basket."<sup>28</sup>

Like his insistence on the teaching of national history and geography in elementary schools, the "All-Jamaica" conference illustrates Anderson's nationalist feeling and sentiment. Like in other parts of the British Caribbean, nationalist feeling emerged in Jamaica in the late nineteenth century in response to the imposition of Crown Colony government and increased after World War I. After the War, numerous organizations were set up with the word "Jamaica" in the title and the slogan "Jamaica for the Jamaicans" became widespread. Amongst the various organizations set up was the Jamaica Imperial League, which had a predominantly white membership and demanded more autonomy and respect for Jamaica within the Empire. Far more numerous, however, were organizations set up by black

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<sup>25</sup> *Gleaner*, 6 November and 21 December 1937.

<sup>26</sup> *Gleaner*, 3 February 1938. On the papers presented, see *Gleaner*, 26, 27, 28, and 29 January 1938. Anderson deliberately excluded members of the government because he wanted them to be impartial when the conference's resolutions would be discussed in the Legislative Council.

<sup>27</sup> *Gleaner*, 15 March 1938.

<sup>28</sup> Anderson to Moody, 5 July 1938, CO 318/435/2, TNA.

middle-class men and women, such as the Jamaica Reform Club, which not only wanted Jamaica to have more autonomy within the Empire but also demanded far-reaching reforms that challenged the social, economic, and political status quo. Like the Trinidad Working Men's Association or the Grenada Representative Government Association, these anticolonial nationalist organizations expressed their discontent with the system of Crown Colony government that not only denied black middle-class men and women full participation in the political process but also blocked their upward mobility, as senior posts in the civil service invariably went to (white) expats. And they also criticized Crown Colony government for preventing social progress, as government spending was heavily biased toward the local (i.e. white) economic elite and foreign capital. Like their counterparts in other British Caribbean colonies, the Jamaican anticolonial nationalist organizations differed as to how far they went in criticizing Crown Colony government and their demands for constitutional and social reforms. By the late 1930s, for instance, the Jamaica Progressive League—an organization which Anderson supported and was set up by the aforementioned Unitarian minister Ethelred Brown and other Jamaican expats in New York—demanded self-government based on universal suffrage but many other organizations only demanded an extension of the franchise.<sup>29</sup>

Anderson's nationalist feelings and sentiment illustrate, as Gordon K. Lewis has argued, that anticolonial nationalism in Jamaica and other parts of the British Caribbean fought more the *abuses* than the *idea* of colonialism and did not articulate a defined set of ideas about nationhood. Anderson, for instance, claimed that the lack of power of the elected members of the Legislative Council negatively affected the welfare of the Jamaican people because it enabled government to pass “the most obnoxious laws” that led to nothing but “stagnation and lack of development.” But he presented himself above-all as a “true patriot” by criticizing the practice to appoint expats to senior posts in government service. He argued that these men and also some women, like the matrons of specialist hospitals, were unable to advance the welfare of the Jamaican people because they only stayed for a few years before moving on to another colony and therefore did not devote “much time or energy to the service of the colony” and also easily shirked

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<sup>29</sup> Benn 2004:64-102, Brown 1970: 58-73, Johnson 1999, Lewis 2004: 169-201.

their duties because they were treated as “demigods” and were never asked to “give account of themselves.”<sup>30</sup>

Anderson was far from the only black politician to criticize the practice of employing “imported” men and women rather than locals in senior posts in government service.<sup>31</sup> He stood out from his colleagues, however, in that he did not hesitate to call the bypassing of African Jamaicans for senior posts racial discrimination. For example, in 1933 the governor refused to appoint the African Jamaican C.A. Adams for the post of assistant water engineer in the corporate area on the grounds that he lacked experience. According to Anderson, race was the real reason why the university-educated Adams, who had experience in building bridges and other major works in the corporate area, was not appointed: “Mr Adams was a Jamaican born and were it not for his skin, he would have got the appointment.”<sup>32</sup> With the exception of Marcus Garvey and the Reverend McLaughlin, who equally claimed that Adams was not appointed because “he was a man of colour,” and a few others, most black politicians used a more neutral language to criticize the government for not appointing African Jamaicans to senior posts, calling it instead discrimination against “natives,” “locals,” or “Jamaicans.” For instance, the government’s decision in 1938 to advertise abroad to fill the position of superintendent of the mental hospital rather than promoting the acting black superintendent led C.A. Little, an elected member of the Legislative Council, to exclaim that “there is a feeling that wherever there is a position that calls for something like a decent salary, every effort is made to leave out the local talent.”<sup>33</sup>

As more than 95 percent of the population was of African descent, it could be argued that black politicians did not have to bring up race in their criticism of the practice of “importing officials,” as the government would have known implicitly that they were talking about discrimination against nonwhites. Yet a more plausible explanation is the precariousness of the black middle class during the period under discussion. Although there was no official color bar in Jamaica, black middle-class men and women could only rise to a certain level in the civil service and also in the private sector

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<sup>30</sup> *Gleaner*, 29 August 1921, 2 July 1934 and 25 January 1938; Anderson to Moody 5 July 1938, CO 318/435/2, TNA.

<sup>31</sup> See for example *Gleaner*, 26 March 1926.

<sup>32</sup> *Gleaner*, 10 October 1933.

<sup>33</sup> *Gleaner*, 18 May 1938.



they faced a glass ceiling. So to gain and demonstrate a sense of superiority, these teachers, preachers, clerks, and others embraced white cultural norms and values and tried to deny their African heritage (Simey 1946:101-3, Stonequist 1961:29), a phenomenon, which as Eric Williams has succinctly shown in his *The Negro in the Caribbean*, was not restricted to Jamaica (Williams 1969:57-69). Many black politicians, then, shied away from raising what was called “the colour question” because to do so would not only have meant acknowledging their African heritage but also offend a (white) middle-class sense of propriety. For instance, it was editorial policy of the white-owned *Gleaner* and other newspapers that were read by the Jamaican middle and upper classes not to give “undue prominence to ‘racial items’” (Henriques 1951:120, Richards 2002:351-57).

Anderson, however, did not care for the social convention not to raise “the colour question” in public and fought a persistent campaign to end racial discrimination in government service, which climaxed in 1938. On June 30, J.A.G. Smith invoked the *British Medical Journal* advert in a Legislative Council debate to support his claim that the government was intent to bypass as much as possible “local candidates” for senior posts.<sup>34</sup> The next day the advert was discussed in a KSAC meeting because the council thought it likely that the health officer asked for was the long-promised assistant officer for its public health department. Anderson described the advert as “race discrimination of the worst type” but the other councilors, with the exception of the Reverend McLaughlin, did not. Hence, the resolution passed by the meeting avoided any racial terms and merely stated that the KSAC deprecated “the terms of the advertisement” and asked the government to vary them so that “Jamaicans who are eligible may be included.”<sup>35</sup>

On 4 July, Anderson had a meeting with the colonial secretary, who tried to assure him that the Jamaican government had not been involved in the drafting of the advert and that it had simply “followed a formula kept in

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<sup>34</sup> *Gleaner*, 30 June 1938. The full advert read: “A vacancy exists for a health officer in the Government Service. Candidates must be British subjects of European parentage under 35 years of age, must possess medical qualification registered in the United Kingdom or the dominions, in public health or special experience or training in public health work.”

<sup>35</sup> Minutes KSAC, 30 June 1938, 2/6, Jamaica Archives (JA), Spanish Town; *Gleaner*, 1 July 1938.

the Colonial Office.”<sup>36</sup> Not satisfied with this explanation, Anderson sent a telegram to Harold Moody, the Jamaican-born president of the League of Coloured People, in London, which stated that “some officials assume oligarchic rule,” that “many Government Departments, especially the Medical [was] vile [and were] injecting colour discrimination,” and that “race hatred [was] being fostered.”<sup>37</sup> Moody took the telegram to the Colonial Office. Because it arrived shortly after island-wide labor riots had been brought to an end, the Colonial Office decided to investigate.<sup>38</sup> It asked Anderson to supply Moody with evidence to substantiate his claims.<sup>39</sup> Anderson gave an interview to the *Gleaner* about the evidence he had sent to Moody, which along with the publication of his telegram in the paper led his fellow councilors to draw up a resolution that condemned his conduct as “quite out of order” and asked him to “refrain from uttering statements which are on the borderline of sedition.” Anderson, however, resigned before the resolution was passed because he could no longer work with men who pretended there was no racial discrimination.<sup>40</sup> Or as he wrote to Moody: “I had a principle to protect, and I had to protest against the spinelessness of the typical coloured Jamaicans who apparently were only waiting for crumbs that may yet fall from their masters’ tables.”<sup>41</sup>

Anderson’s resignation caused a huge public debate with the white elite and also many black middle-class Jamaicans condemning his actions but with “the people” fully supporting him. On 15 July, a mass rally was held at the Kingston race course, which included speeches by amongst others Alexander Bustamante and not only condemned the KSAC’s resolution but also expressed a vote of confidence in Anderson and asked him to stand in the bye-election that he had caused by resigning.<sup>42</sup> This along with similar

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<sup>36</sup> *Gleaner*, 6 July 1938.

<sup>37</sup> *Gleaner*, 6 July 1938.

<sup>38</sup> For more on the riots, see Holt 1992 and St. Pierre 1978.

<sup>39</sup> Secretary of State to Moody, 28 November 1938, CO 318/435/2, TNA.

<sup>40</sup> Minutes KSAC, 11 July 1938, 2/6, JA. The resolution was moved by white councilor Cargill and seconded by black councilor Rae. With the exception of Rev. McLaughlin all black councilors present voted in favor of the resolution.

<sup>41</sup> Anderson to Moody, 16 August 1938, CO 318/435/2, TNA.

<sup>42</sup> *Gleaner*, 16 July 1938.



requests from various local organizations convinced Anderson to stand. He overwhelmingly won the election, receiving nearly 70 percent of the votes.<sup>43</sup>

Although the secretary of state concluded that there was no foundation for the claim Anderson had made in his letter to Moody that “there is a clique formed by government officials whose desire is to do as they choose and pay little regard to coloured people,” he did rule that public health positions should only be advertised abroad if there were no suitably qualified local candidates available.<sup>44</sup> This ruling constituted a victory for Anderson and he capitalized on it along with his success in bringing about improvements at the Kingston public hospital and the Jubilee maternity hospital in the bye-election for the St. Andrew seat on the Legislative Council, which was held in January 1940. He ran this election, like the 1937 KSAC election, on a ticket of the Kingston and St. Andrew Federation of Citizens Associations.

Anderson’s supporters held him up as the “people’s friend” and fiercely attacked his opponents, especially PNP candidate Nethersole. Anderson himself also stressed that he defended “the inarticulate masses,” promising them better health care and other services and was equally critical of Nethersole and his party.<sup>45</sup> Although he supported many of the PNP’s goals, such as universal suffrage and dominion status for Jamaica, Anderson strongly disapproved of the party. He accused it of being an undemocratic organization, even likening it to the Ku Klux Klan, and claimed, like many others in the island, that it had communist sympathies.<sup>46</sup> That Anderson overwhelmingly beat Nethersole illustrates that by January 1940, party politics was not yet firmly embedded in Jamaica.<sup>47</sup> The following section will illustrate that while Anderson’s views on the degree of self-determination for Jamaica moved very closely to the PNP’s, he remained highly skeptical of the party and party politics more generally.

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<sup>43</sup> *Gleaner*, 15 July and 4 August 1938. Councilor Campbell nominated Anderson for mayor but he declined the nomination because he could no longer trust his colleagues. Minutes KSAC, 20 August 1938, 2/6, JA.

<sup>44</sup> Secretary of State to Moody, 28 November 1938, CO 319/435/2, TNA.

<sup>45</sup> *Gleaner*, 21 and 29 December 1939 and 6 and 10 January 1940.

<sup>46</sup> *Gleaner*, 16 January 1940.

<sup>47</sup> *Gleaner*, 19 January 1940.

### **The Honorable Member Anderson**

Anderson lived up to his election promise to defend the interests of “the inarticulate masses.” Although he now shared the same social space as the Superintending Medical Officer, he remained as critical about the health services as before. For instance, when the governor reprimanded him in his first Legislative Council speech for “base remarks” about Dr. Hallinan, he responded: “I have said nothing to be withdrawn. I am merely echoing the sentiments of the people of the country, and I am not going to be prevented from saying what the people feel.”<sup>48</sup> And what “the people” felt, according to Anderson, was that “the average man gets very poor care” because of the District Medical Officer and ticket system, the lack of well-qualified medical staff—in 1943 there was only 1 doctor per 6,000 of the population (Moser 1957:20)—, and a shortage of hospitals.<sup>49</sup> In fact, Jamaica spent less on health care than other British Caribbean colonies. While health care made up 9.8 percent of its total expenditure in the late 1930s, in Barbados for instance it accounted for 11.3 and in St Lucia for 12.7 percent. Only Honduras, Trinidad and Montserrat spent less on health care than Jamaica.<sup>50</sup>

And Anderson also remained concerned to see that the educational system would allow “the people” to move up the social ladder. He supported elected member Erasmus Campbell’s idea of a special tax for the benefit of education so that more children would have the opportunity to get a secondary education, while at the same time insisting on a lower school starting age and continuing his opposition to government attempts to curtail private education and include vocational subjects in the elementary school curriculum.<sup>51</sup> Anderson, however, fully realized that a system of free health care and secondary education for all required the economic development of the island. At the time of the “All-Jamaica” conference, he saw the growth of local industry, such as fruit canning, as the main means to achieve this goal. But after his election onto the Legislative Council, he increasingly came to see, like the well-known Caribbean economist W. Arthur Lewis (Tignor 2005), the development of small-scale farming as an engine of growth. He

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<sup>48</sup> *Gleaner*, 9 March 1940.

<sup>49</sup> *Gleaner*, 9 March 1940, 1 May 1941, 23 March 1942, and 15 April 1943.

<sup>50</sup> *Report of the West India Royal Commission*, 141.

<sup>51</sup> *Gleaner*, 18 March 1942 and 15 April 1943.

asked the government for schemes to increase the number of peasant proprietors and provide them with instruction in cultivation and marketing.<sup>52</sup>

The government's limited spending on health care and education and lack of interest in the development of peasant small-holdings clearly conveyed, according to Anderson, its racial biases. Or as he said in his first Legislative Council speech, the government did not care about "the poor people, barefooted people, the little black people."<sup>53</sup> His victory over the advert in fact did much to invigorate his fight against racial discrimination. He did not hesitate, for example, to describe a bill that would allow for flogging as a punishment for crimes of violence as a "bill of race and class and colour hatred."<sup>54</sup> But above all Anderson was concerned about the discrimination encountered by African Jamaicans in government service. In 1926, black men were finally allowed to become sub-inspectors of police. The few who managed to attain this position, however, were never considered for the post of inspector. In March 1940, Anderson claimed that it was "an unwritten law in this country that if a man is of a certain *peculiarity*, though it was not his own fault, he must not go higher than the rank of staff sergeant-major" and demanded that a man from within ranks be appointed as the next inspector.<sup>55</sup> It was demands such as these that led Governor Richards to exclaim in a confidential letter to the secretary of state that Anderson preached "racial hatred and the sterile gospel of Jamaica for the black Jamaican."<sup>56</sup>

Also his repeated demands that Jamaicans be sent abroad for training so they could replace "imported officials" illustrate that Anderson did not lessen his fight to achieve a "Jamaica for the Jamaicans" after he became an elected member.<sup>57</sup> Such training was an important precondition for internal self-rule, a goal which Anderson fully came to embrace during his time on the Legislative Council. Various demands for a new constitution in the aftermath of the 1938 labor riots along with a desire to prevent major upheaval in the colonies while Britain was at war led Secretary of

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<sup>52</sup> *Gleaner*, 8 March 1940, 9 March 1942, 15 April 1943 and 6 November 1944.

<sup>53</sup> *Gleaner*, 9 March 1940.

<sup>54</sup> *Gleaner*, 9 July 1942.

<sup>55</sup> *Gleaner*, 15 March 1940.

<sup>56</sup> Confidential letter Governor Richards to Secretary of State Lord Lloyd, 28 September 1940, CO 137/843/1, TNA.

<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, *Gleaner*, 9 and 28 March 1940.

State Lord Moyne in March 1941 to propose a new constitution that would provide for universal suffrage and a reduction in official and an increase in elected members of the Legislative Council. Like other elected members, the PNP, the Federation of Citizens' Associations and other organizations, Anderson fiercely opposed the "Moyne constitution." He argued that "300 years of training, 300 years of intellectual development, 300 years of contact with the British empire" had more than prepared Jamaica for a bicameral legislature, with an executive committee that would liaise between the two chambers. And he called the "Moyne constitution" also "totally unacceptable" because the governor retained his reserve powers. It was in fact the latter that led him to question whether it was "race or colour" that prevented Jamaica from getting a constitution similar to that of New Zealand and other dominions.<sup>58</sup>

The islandwide attack on the "Moyne constitution" along with pressure exerted by the United States upon Britain to grant reforms and fear of a repetition of events of 1938 if reforms were withheld, led Oliver Stanley, the new secretary of state, in February 1943 to agree to a bicameral legislature and more checks to ensure that the governor would not abuse his reserve powers. It took until October 1944 before all provisions of a constitution were worked out that provided for a small privy council (dealing mainly with matters of defense), a nominated upper and elected lower chamber (the Legislative Council and House of Representatives), and an executive council (responsible for determining policy and introducing legislation) (Ayeerst 1960:72-74, Zeidenfelt 1952:522-23). While Anderson did not deem this system of semi-responsible government "ideal," he did see it as "a step in advance" and therefore accepted it.<sup>59</sup>

The first election for the House of Representatives was held on 14 December 1944. Anderson was wooed by the PNP to stand as one of its candidates.<sup>60</sup> He refused and also declined to stand for the other main party that contested the election—the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), which had been set up in 1943 by Alexander Bustamante. In his election speeches, Anderson mentioned that he did not disapprove of party politics per se but felt that parties had not yet sufficiently developed to effectively work toward the

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<sup>58</sup> *Gleaner*, 23 March 1942.

<sup>59</sup> *Gleaner*, 12 October 1944.

<sup>60</sup> "Politics," *Spotlight* 5, no. 12 and vol. 6, no. 1 (1944-45):16.

welfare of the people and that some were also “not above suspicion.”<sup>61</sup> Many Jamaicans feared that the Marxists on the PNP’s general council were trying to push the party further toward the left. Also its anti-imperialism led the PNP to be viewed with much suspicion. And although the JLP was in favor of maintaining close and cordial relations with Britain, it was regarded as dangerous because of the central role played by Bustamante, who was also the “leader for life” of the party’s aligned trade union (Munroe 1972:36-42, Wallace 1970:58-59, Zeidenfelt 1952:533-36). In the run-up to the election, there had been fierce rivalry between these two parties, even leading to outbreaks of violence (Sives 2010:12). Anderson hinted at this in his election speeches, stressing the need for cooperation to ensure that the five-year trial of the new constitution would be a success so Britain would grant full responsible government.<sup>62</sup>

Several other elected members of the Legislative Council also stood as independents. They, however, only made up one third of all candidates. But not only the legislators also the electorate had by 1944 come to embrace party politics; only 30 percent of all votes went to independents. That Anderson polled 6.9 percent of the votes in St. Andrew Central compared to 46 percent in the 1940 election and that JLP candidate Newman was returned with 51 percent of the votes clearly illustrates that the tide had turned in favor of party politics (Zeidenfelt 1952:529-33).<sup>63</sup>

### Maverick Anderson

Dr. Oswald E. Anderson, then, was a true maverick and not only because he decided to stand as an independent, when the tide had turned in favor of party politics. While most of his colleagues on the St. Andrew Parochial Board, the KSAC, and Legislative Council were concerned about the interests of the small number of people in their constituencies who had voted them in, he was a “staunch defender” of the disenfranchised masses. He worked hard to provide them with a better medical service and an educational system that offered opportunities for social mobility and also tried to ensure that those who lived of the soil were able to support their families.

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<sup>61</sup> *Gleaner*, 6 and 23 November and 13 December 1944.

<sup>62</sup> *Gleaner*, 23 November 1944.

<sup>63</sup> See also *Gleaner*, 29 November and 15 December 1944.

His concern about the welfare of the “inarticulate masses” along with his patriotism made him a “fearless critic of government” and also a fervent supporter of first representative and later responsible government.

But what made Anderson above all a maverick was his frankness about racial discrimination. His encounter with the American system of racial discrimination may have made him less compliant with the social convention not to raise “the colour question” than his fellow politicians. Although there was no official color bar in Jamaica or even such a deep gulf between the white minority and the black majority as in for instance Barbados, where many amenities, clubs, and societies were closed to non-whites, there was certainly racial discrimination. As in other British Caribbean colonies, this took mainly the form of “shadism”; that is, the lighter a person’s skin color, the better his/her social and economic opportunities and thus chances of a higher standard of life. It was, for instance, only light-skinned men and women, who were employed in shops, banks, and offices (Henriques 1951:18, Simey 1946:20, 98). In the United States on the other hand, all shades of black were collapsed into the uniform and inferior category of “Negro.” This system underpinned not only the Jim Crow laws in the South but also informal practices in Chicago and other northern cities. As Winston James (1998) has shown in his *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia*, exposure to this system of racial discrimination, even its de facto variant in the North, radicalized many light-skinned West Indian migrants, who no longer received beneficial treatment on account of their “shade.” The leadership of many radical groups that were set up in the interwar years in the United States, such as the African Blood Brotherhood, were led by light-skinned West Indian migrants. Although Anderson never mentioned in his public speeches instances of racial discrimination whilst studying in Chicago, his participation in such race-first organizations as the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Progressive Negro Association, and his fierce public condemnations of the American system of racial discrimination suggest that like so many other light-skinned West Indian migrants he too had become “black” in the United States.<sup>64</sup>

Although Anderson strongly condemned the American system of racial discrimination, he also held America up as a model of progress. For instance,

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<sup>64</sup> See for example *Gleaner*, 18 July 1919. In Jamaica at the time, a person of Anderson’s complexion was called “coloured” or “fair.”

he mentioned that West Indians who had migrated to the United States had done well because of access to good schools and universities and the sheer amount of “cooperation” between and within classes and races.<sup>65</sup> This is not surprising, however, as Anderson had studied in Chicago during the so-called progressive era, a period marked by political reforms that aimed to allow citizens to rule more directly, social activism and numerous social welfare initiatives, including many by African Americans.<sup>66</sup> His encounter with American progressivism could explain, then, why Anderson joined the Jamaica Representative Government Association in 1921 and later worked to get responsible government and also the “All-Jamaica” conference and other initiatives he undertook to encourage government to improve social welfare.

During his long political career, Anderson kept abreast of developments in social welfare in the United States by regularly visiting relatives and friends. His half-sister Rhoda, a nurse, lived in the United States, as did his half-brothers Jim and Arnold. Jim was based in Detroit and practiced as both a dentist and lawyer, while Arnold was a minister in Wilmington. Both brothers were also actively involved in their local YMCA. During his various visits to the United States, Anderson not only met up with his half-siblings but also socialized with other West Indian migrants, in particular professionals like Dr. Lucien Brown, a well-known doctor in Harlem, and James S. Watson, one of the first black judges in New York state.<sup>67</sup> Because of them Anderson was able to visit hospitals, community centers and various other institutions that provided him with ideas not only for his medical practice but also his work on the KSAC and Legislative Council. Or as he told the *Gleaner*, he visited these places with a view to gain information that he could use “in urging public reforms.”<sup>68</sup>

But like Marcus Garvey and other mavericks in Jamaican politics, Anderson too was an ambiguous politician. Although he defended the interests of the “inarticulate masses” and was involved in the early labor movement in Jamaica,<sup>69</sup> he was, as his criticism of the PNP and admiration for Garvey’s

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<sup>65</sup> See, *Gleaner*, 19 August 1916, 13 December 1919, and 15 November 1934.

<sup>66</sup> On progressivism in Illinois, see Pegram 1992, Reed 1988, and Willrich 2003.

<sup>67</sup> *Chicago Defender*, 3 November 1934 and 18 October 1941; *Gleaner*, 31 October 1928, 18 July 1930 and 10 November 1931.

<sup>68</sup> *Gleaner*, 8 January 1942.

<sup>69</sup> See for instance *Gleaner*, 17 February 1919.

Black Star Line suggest,<sup>70</sup> not a socialist. Anderson in fact fully embraced capitalism. Not only did he run a private medical practice but he also opened a convalescent hospital for private patients in 1927. And he also regularly expressed his admiration for African Jamaicans, who had established successful businesses at home or abroad.<sup>71</sup>

And while Anderson worked hard to uplift the lower classes, he also fiercely criticized lower-class culture, speaking very disapprovingly of the “unrestrained sexuality” of the lower classes and their recourse to obeah, an African-derived mixture of religion and folk medicine.<sup>72</sup> Anderson did not differ in this regard from other members of the black middle class. To gain and demonstrate a sense of relative superiority, they not only embraced the white cultural norms and values that they had been exposed to in secondary school but also tried to distance themselves as much as possible from their lower-class brethren (Williams 1969:61).

Yet the black middle class could not completely cut itself off from the lower classes, not just because of family and other ties but also because their futures were closely entwined. Middle-class demands to modify Crown Colony government, for instance, were often rebuked by the government with the claim that “the people” had not yet sufficiently progressed. Many black middle-class Jamaicans therefore tried to defend the lower classes, stating that they were industrious, thrifty and embraced various other dominant norms and values or alternatively advocated reforms that would instill these norms and values in the lower classes (Simey 1946:101-03, Stonequist 1961:29). I would argue, however, that Anderson’s attempts to provide the poor with health care, education, and other services were more than a strategy to advance the position of his own class in society. They were mostly genuine attempts to uplift the poor inspired by his Christian beliefs. Anderson grew up in a very religious household. When he returned from the United States, he became an active member of the Baptist church and even served as a lay preacher.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> *Gleaner*, 13 December 1919. The Black Star Line was a steamship company operated by Garvey and the UNIA from 1919 till 1922. It was part of Garvey’s back-to-Africa programme and aimed to transport goods and people between North America, the Caribbean and Africa.

<sup>71</sup> See *Gleaner*, 19 November 1927, 27 May 1931, 26 October and 15 November 1934.

<sup>72</sup> See for example *Gleaner*, 11 November 1936 and 11 April 1938.

<sup>73</sup> See, *Gleaner*, 12 June 1931, 11 November 1936, 11 April 1938, and 2 November 1948.



Anderson's Christian-inspired concern for the poor, however, does not distract from the fact that he firmly identified as middle class. He was a life-time member of the Phoenix Masonic lodge and worked hard to advance the status of the black middle class. Thus alongside demands for more and better hospitals, he also asked for higher wages for nurses, most of whom came from lower middle-class families.<sup>74</sup> And he did not just object to the teaching of vocational subjects in elementary schools but also to the allocation of the Jamaican Scholarship—a university scholarship—to boys whose parents could easily afford to send them abroad.<sup>75</sup> This and also his calls for higher wages and pensions for teachers, changes in income tax, opposition to the immigration of Syrians and Chinese, who by the late 1930s had come to occupy an important role in the island's economy, and above all his relentless efforts to replace "imported officials" by locals led J.A.G. Smith to tell an election meeting that Anderson was "strongly for the middle-classes."<sup>76</sup>

As class and color were closely entwined in colonial Jamaica, Anderson also displayed an ambiguous attitude toward racial discrimination. He spoke at meetings of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and other race-first organizations and never hesitated to accuse the government of discriminating against nonwhites but like so many other members of the black middle class never openly condemned "shadism." This system of attaching a higher value to white and light than dark skin, which had started during slavery when whiteness equaled freedom and interracial sex was prevalent, was not just practiced by white employers. In fact, it was more an intra- than an interracial phenomenon. Like in other parts of the British Caribbean, "shadism" in Jamaica took a variety of forms. For instance, mothers favored their lighter-skinned children over their darker ones; if possible, domestics chose white or very light-skinned employers; light-skinned men and women preferred to keep company with people of their own or a lighter shade; and many men and women aimed to "marry lighter" so as to offer their offspring the chances of a higher standard of life (Henriques 1951:115-19, Williams 1969:64-66). As he was a beneficiary of "shadism," it is not surprising that Anderson did not openly condemn it.

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<sup>74</sup> *Gleaner*, 9 March 1940.

<sup>75</sup> *Gleaner*, 9 March 1940.

<sup>76</sup> *Gleaner*, 10 January 1940.

Yet by remaining silent about it, he did much to uphold the three-tier hierarchy, as this type of racial discrimination was a concomitant of the white-on-black discrimination and thus equally helped to sustain white superiority.

And finally, although Anderson's insistence on a "Jamaica for the Jamaicans" earned him the epithet of a "true patriot," he was not just a staunch nationalist. For Anderson, self-government would lead to a stronger rather than lesser ties with the Empire. And he also expressed the wish that once Jamaica had received self-government it would become part of a West India federation.<sup>77</sup> Like his defense of the interests of the "inarticulate masses" on the one hand and those of his own class on the other, the origins of Anderson's dual loyalty—toward Jamaica and the Empire—can be largely traced back to his education. As Ann Spry Rush (2011) has succinctly shown in her *Bonds of Empire*, secondary schools encouraged boys and girls not just to strive for (white) middle-class respectability but also instilled in them a sense of Britishness.

In spite of his ambiguities, Anderson helped to lay the groundwork for Norman Manley, Alexander Bustamante, and others who took Jamaica toward independence after 1944, through his criticism of Crown Colony government, especially its discrimination against people of African descent, his attempts to increase nationalist consciousness, such as the "All-island" conference, and his involvement in organizations such as the Jamaica Representative Government Association that made demands for representative and responsible government. That he is hardly remembered today is largely because he did not play a role in the founding of the two parties that emerged in the aftermath of the 1938 labor riots, the PNP and JLP, and which are seen as "the real origins of the modern Jamaican nation" (Bogues 2002:365). This study, however, has shown that this nation, which has recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, predates the 1938 labor riots and was largely the result of the efforts of many men and women like Anderson, who worked hard, within and outside numerous organizations and political bodies, to make the slogan "Jamaica for the Jamaicans" a reality.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> See, *Gleaner*, 14 April 1921 and 23 March 1942.

<sup>78</sup> Anderson, who died in 1948, is only briefly mentioned in Post (1981) in a discussion about the 1940 and 1944 elections. There is a growing literature on Manley and Bustamante, see for instance Sherlock (1980) and Nettleford (1971). And many other post-1944 political leaders have also received attention, see for example Johnson (2001). With the exception of J.A.G. Smith (Johnson 1991) hardly any interwar black politicians have received scholarly

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## Colonial Citizens of a Modern Empire: War, Illiteracy, and Physical Education in Puerto Rico, 1917–1930

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### Abstract

The year 1917 marked a critical moment in the relationship between the United States and its Puerto Rican colony. It was the year the U.S. Congress approved the Jones Act, which further consolidated the island's colonial relationship to the empire. Through the Jones Act, U.S. Congressmen granted Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship. In turn, Puerto Rican men were asked to fulfill the obligations of their new colonial citizenship and join the U.S. military. The Porto Rican Regiment provided 18,000 colonial military recruits to guard the Panama Canal during the war. How did historical actors make sense of this new colonial citizenship? How did they interpret, debate, and adapt to the newly consolidated colonial status? This essay examines how local teachers and educators defined colonial citizenship. Puerto Rican teachers struggled to promote a citizenship-building project that cultivated student commitment to the *patria* (the island), while acknowledging the colonial relationship to the United States. In the late 1910s and throughout the 1920s, teachers debated military participation in World War I and the rights and obligations of U.S. citizenship. At the core, these debates were informed by anxieties over broader changes in constructions of gender. In the 1920s, Puerto Rico women aggressively and persistently challenged traditional gender norms. Working-class women joined the labor force in ever larger numbers and led labor strikes. Bourgeois women became teachers, nurses, and social workers. Both groups were committed suffragists. The historiography on citizenship and gender in the 1920s has focused on women's emerging role in public spaces and their demands for just labor rights and the franchise. In this article, I propose we look at teachers, as intermediate actors in the colonial hierarchy, and examine their anxieties over changing gender norms. They debated men's capacity to serve in the U.S. military and promoted modern physical education for the regeneration of boys and girls in the service of their *patria*. Debates among teachers in the 1920s sought to define the new category of colonial citizenship. As they did so, they helped liberalize some gender norms, while ultimately reinforcing patriarchy.

### Keywords

Puerto Rico, education, gender, citizenship, empire, World War I

In 1917 the U.S. Congress approved legislation for Puerto Rico and other colonial territories that embodied the practices of “imperial formations.” The 1917 legislation was an example of how the United States as a modern empire “blurred genres of rule and partial sovereignties” as it “created new subjects . . . under uncertain domains of jurisdiction and ad hoc exemptions from the law on the basis of race and cultural differences” (Stoler, McGranahan & Perdue 2007:8). World War I reminded U.S. legislators of the geopolitical value of Puerto Rico to the United States in the Caribbean. That year, the U.S. Congress approved legislation between March and May that pulled the island and Puerto Rican men into the First World War. It also generated debates on the island about citizenship, gender, and education. In this essay, I examine these debates through the example of literacy and physical education campaigns.

In March 1917 the U.S. Congress approved the Jones Act, which replaced the 1900 Foraker Act as the island’s colonial constitution. The Jones Act did not fundamentally alter the colonial terms of the Puerto Rico-U.S. relationship as established by the Foraker Act. Although the former provided some reforms, it reinforced Puerto Rico’s status as an unincorporated colonial territory of the United States.<sup>1</sup> In addition, in a controversial decision, the Jones Act granted U.S. citizenship to all persons born on the island. Puerto Ricans were now U.S. citizens, but with restrictions. For example, although U.S. citizens, the Jones Act denied Puerto Ricans residing on the island the right to vote in American presidential elections (Scarano 2008). The new citizenship granted in 1917, therefore, was a second-class or colonial form of citizenship.

In April 1917 the U.S. Congress declared war against Germany, and the country entered World War I. In May, Congress approved a new Selective Service Law requiring obligatory military service of all men aged 21 to 30. Citizenship was not a requirement for service in the U.S. military. Historically, colonial subjects and immigrants served. In 1917, however, the meaning of citizenship and the framework of empire and colonialism changed. Now, Puerto Rican men, as U.S. citizens, were obligated to register for military service according to the Selective Service Law (Paralitici 1998). Puerto Rican men, declared citizens of the United States, yet residing on

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<sup>1</sup> Unincorporated territories were not set on the path of incorporation as states (Ayala & Bernabe 2007; Thompson 2002).

an unincorporated territory, were called to serve. Military service was now an obligation of second-class citizenship. That year Puerto Rican men were recruited into the newly founded colonial military regiment, the “Porto Rico Regiment,” and deployed to guard the Panama Canal for the duration of the war (Villahermosa 2009). The 1917 colonial legislation and the conscription of Puerto Rican men generated great debate on the island about colonialism, U.S. citizenship, and masculinity. Teachers and colonial schools were at the center of the debate. In early twentieth-century Puerto Rico, citizenship-building was the responsibility of teachers and schools.

### Education, Empire, and Citizenship

A key practice of American imperialism in Puerto Rico was the founding of colonial schools (Negrón de Montilla 1998). At the turn of the century, U.S. travelers and politicians compared Puerto Ricans to other colonial subjects in the “imperial archipelago” and concluded that Puerto Ricans were relatively friendly, welcoming, and eager to learn from the Americans. U.S. colonial officials imagined Puerto Ricans, unlike revolutionary Cubans and Filipinos, held potential for “improvement” (Thompson 2010). They proposed that Puerto Ricans might reap the benefits of American paternalism—in the form of schools and hospitals.<sup>2</sup>

From 1898 to 1900, U.S. colonial officials traveled to Puerto Rico, assessed and disbanded the existing Spanish colonial schools, and with the collaboration of local pro-American elites, established a new colonial school system. In the first ten years, the Department of Education went through various changes in leadership. U.S. and Puerto Rican school administrators reformed school laws, founded teaching institutes, trained teachers, built or rented classrooms, and recruited children (Osuna 1949).<sup>3</sup> U.S. educators imagined that the highly centralized colonial Department of Education could produce a curriculum that might generate support for American

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<sup>2</sup> On the topic of the United States as empire and Puerto Rico as colony, see Ayala & Bernabe 2007, Duany 2002, Findlay 1999, McCoy & Scarano 2009, Rodríguez Silva 2012, Scarano 1998, Thompson 2010.

<sup>3</sup> For a history of education in early twentieth century Puerto Rico, in addition to Osuna 1949, see Gómez Tejera & Cruz López 1970, López Yustos 1985, Negrón de Montilla 1998, Tirado 2003.



control over the island. With the collaboration of local teachers, students could be converted from colonial subjects into “tropical Yankees,” or supporters of U.S. colonialism (Navarro 2002). After 1917, however, this goal became more explicit. The Jones Act created U.S. citizens, not tropical Yankees. In 1917 Puerto Rico’s commissioner of education, Paul G. Miller, charged Puerto Rican teachers with the task of Americanizing the new U.S. citizens. These were now “American schools” (Miller 1917, 1918, 1919).

What did it mean to Americanize U.S. citizens in an unincorporated colonial territory? How were Puerto Rican teachers, who were informed by various political ideologies but employed by a colonial school system, going to Americanize Puerto Rican students? The biggest obstacle to the imagined Americanization of students turned out to be the teachers themselves. In the first decade, commissioners of education experimented with multiple recruitment and training schemes. They brought U.S. teachers to the island. Many, however, were poorly trained, spoke no Spanish, and did not last long on the job. In turn, Puerto Rican teachers were sent to American institutions, such as the Columbia University Teachers’ College, to receive training from U.S. educators through intensive courses. The goal was to Americanize as many teachers as possible, to train them in American methods of teaching and pedagogy, hoping they could in turn serve as models for other Puerto Rican teachers. Commissioners, however, grew frustrated. The scale of the experiments was too small for Puerto Rico (Osuna 1949). The Puerto Rican context was unique.

U.S. commissioners looked to other colonial and mainland examples for solutions. U.S. educators took lessons from the long history of Americanization in Hawaiian schools, the boarding school practices for Native Americans, and the industrial and vocational training schools for African Americans (Adams 1995; Lindsey 1995; Navarro 2002). These were all models in Americanizing racial “others” on the mainland and the empire. However, Puerto Rico posed different challenges. It was a densely populated island. While small numbers of Puerto Rican students were sent to attend both Native American boarding schools and African American vocational institutes in the United States, the model was not practical. Parents and students demanded access to schools in their town centers and rural areas. During the early colonial encounter, commissioners found they could not import enough U.S. teachers and that U.S. schools could not board enough Puerto Rican students. Instead, U.S. officials founded a co-educational, secular, and public school system on the island (Osuna 1949).



U.S. educators also realized they depended on the collaboration of Puerto Rican educators. They were forced to rehire the existing generation of teachers that they had decertified upon their arrival. After passing English-language tests, many of the late-nineteenth-century teachers became local leaders, as principals of schools. In addition, the expanding number of classrooms and the demand from children to attend school required the recruitment of a new generation of teachers. Many high school graduates in the first decade of the twentieth century attended the island's teaching college, the University of Puerto Rico, where they acquired certification to teach. The commissioner of education, in his centralized capacity, certified new teachers to serve in the Department of Education and assigned them to local schools. The number of teachers grew from 1,623 in 1910, 3,220 in 1920, to 4,451 in 1930. They attended to 522 classrooms in 1910, 1,422 in 1920, and 3,273 in 1930. The number of children attending schools also grew from 95,342 in 1910, 176,617 in 1920, and 221,189 in 1930 (Osuna 1949:628).

The growing number of teachers quickly organized into a professional union. In 1911, groups of regional teachers came together and founded the Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (AMPR), the Puerto Rican Teachers' Association. The association became the institution that allowed these two generations of teachers (the elders from the turn of the century and the new teachers of the 1910s and 1920s) to negotiate with the powerful commissioner of education. Teachers brought concerns about their salaries, appointments, tenure, school conditions, and curriculum to the annual teachers' convention. They discussed and debated. At the conclusion of the conference, AMPR leaders compiled a list of demands that they then brought before the commissioner of education and the Puerto Rican legislature. Through the AMPR, teachers of various generations, regions, and political affiliations, presented their professional demands before the colonial government in a united voice.<sup>4</sup>

The speeches, lectures, pamphlets, essays, and articles teachers penned in the early twentieth century, however, went beyond professional concerns

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<sup>4</sup> AMPR Archives, Libro de actas, 1910-1915, Libro #1, and Libro de actas, Asambleas anuales, 1916 al 1925, Libro #4. See also AMPR documents and individual teacher writings published in the *Puerto Rico School Review* (PRSR) between 1917 and 1930. A note on archival materials: all archival sources cited in this article are located in the Archivo General de Puerto Rico, Series Oficina del Gobernador or at the private archives of the AMPR, both located in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

about salaries, appointments, and tenure. Their writings documented how schools and education were at the heart of communities. Both locally and island-wide, teachers engaged in debates with community leaders, politicians, and intellectuals about the central role of schools in the future of Puerto Rico. And, in the tradition of late-nineteenth-century liberal thought on the island, teachers promoted visions of regeneration, progress, and modernity. Teachers decried the current state of the island. Reflecting on their practices and experiences in urban and rural schools, in the language of neo-Lamarckian eugenics, they described their encounters with a people who were allegedly isolated, illiterate, and traditional. They lamented the lack of awareness about modern hygiene and sanitation practices among rural poor and urban workers.<sup>5</sup> Teachers proposed ways they could rebuild “the home” and redefine relationships between mother and father and wife and husband.<sup>6</sup> They imagined that they could teach the *jibaro* (peasant) to farm more effectively and the *jíbara* to keep house more “scientifically.”<sup>7</sup> Finally, they claimed the right to intervene in children’s health through the teaching of hygiene, sanitation, and physical education (Arán 1925; Sarriera 1921; Sellés Solá 1921b; Urrutia 1921). Teachers framed this neo-Lamarckian vision of regeneration through education as a practice in service to the nation (Stepan 1991). The nation of Puerto Rico was not yet founded. However, teachers, as employees of a colonial school system, wrote as if they were preparing the children—creating citizens—for the future nation of Puerto Rico (González Ginorio 1920).

This Puerto Rican teachers’ project, which coalesced around citizenship-building visions, came through forcefully in their writings. The documents teachers produced, nevertheless, also suggested there were divisions and conflicts within the teaching profession. The older generation of teachers was of an intermediate class. Many were children of the socially descending coffee elite who were displaced with the re-orientation of the island

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<sup>5</sup> Teacher Lorenza Brunet del Valle, for example, articulated specific concerns about hygiene and homemaking in rural homes (Brunet del Valle 1918 and Brunet 1919, 1920).

<sup>6</sup> José González Ginorio, educator and president of the AMPR, in particular, theorized about the relationship between home and school (González Ginorio 1917a, 1917b, 1918).

<sup>7</sup> The policies that teachers supported at the annual conference were collected in the Libro de Actas and published annually in the *PRSR*. For example, see Rivera Ufret 1917 and Sellés Solá 1921a, 1923.

economy in the interest of U.S. sugar corporations after 1898. Older teachers represented property-holding families of regional prominence. It was this older generation of teachers who became the elected leadership of the AMPR. In the early twentieth century, older, traditional, patriarchal men represented the AMPR. This leadership and their views on gender, in particular, were at times in conflict with the younger generation of teachers. Those who first became teachers in the 1910s and 1920s also came from an intermediate social class. However, they were younger, trained in a U.S. school system, reformist, and more “radical.” They welcomed, for example, new and modern pedagogy. They rejected the traditional athletics in favor of a more inclusive, popular, co-educational physical education curriculum. Supporting modern physical education, for example, implied challenging traditional gender roles.

The AMPR, therefore, represented a united voice before colonial authorities, such as the commissioner and the legislature. Teachers, however, represented multiple political and social visions. As civil servants, nevertheless, they were mindful they could not openly express a criticism of U.S. colonialism or of Puerto Ricans’ subjugation before the American empire. To do so would mean to be blacklisted, fired, and decertified. There were many examples in the 1910s when the commissioner of education rallied against high school and university students who challenged U.S. colonialism (Negrón de Montilla 1998). Colonial schools were both a politically charged and censored space. Nevertheless, through the promotion of their citizenship-building project and vision for the regeneration of their students, teachers challenged Americanization policies.

In 1917, when the Jones Act declared Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens, when Puerto Rico’s unincorporated status was consolidated, and when Puerto Rican men were conscripted into the U.S. military, schools and education took center stage. The military recruitment of Puerto Rican men made public a shocking reality. The majority of the men who registered for military service could not pass the military’s entrance exam. Most did not meet literacy and physical requirements (Hickle 1918; Torregrosa Rivera 1938). The question arose: what was the purpose of U.S. colonial schools in Puerto Rico, if after seventeen years they could not produce a majority of literate and healthy men? What had they been teaching after all? This concern about the priorities of the U.S. colonial Department of Education suggested a broader question. What kind of men should colonial schools

create in Puerto Rico? And what was the responsibility of these men to the island and the empire?

The debates that emerged regarding masculinity, war, and citizenship were emblematic of colonial reformist ideologies in a politically repressive space (schools). The majority of teachers and educators did not openly reject conscription in the service of the empire.<sup>8</sup> However, the rejection rates became an opportunity for teachers to negotiate for a more “modern” and “progressive” physical education curriculum that could be more inclusive and expansive to the benefit of all students. The crisis created an opportunity for teachers, who could not openly challenge U.S. colonialism, to promote a reformed curriculum in the service of their students and with the intention to cultivate the regeneration of future citizens.

### Gender and Citizenship

For teachers in the 1920s, the politics of colonial reform were not simply academic exercises. These debates were at the core of their daily practice in the classroom. The challenge of defining a new colonial citizenship took center stage. Creating citizens became their responsibility. The permanency of Puerto Rico’s colonial status within the American empire was more clearly established through the Jones Act and the acquisition of U.S. citizenship. How did this political framework shape colonial schools? What were the rights and responsibilities of this new form of second-class or colonial citizenship? How did it affect the teachers’ broader citizenship-building agenda? In the tradition of autonomist politics, teachers found ways to define the new colonial citizenship, while also affirming a Puerto Rican identity within the parameters of U.S. colonialism.

In school debates of the 1920s, one of the principal methods for defining the promises and limits of the new colonial citizenship was through the lens of gender and patriarchy. Teachers articulated their citizenship-building project, which was grounded on the relationship between home, school, and *patria* and the practice of modern education, by defining gender roles and modern patriarchy in Puerto Rico. For teachers, the 1920s debates took

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<sup>8</sup> Teachers could not protest publicly, but individual men did reject conscription (Paralatici 1998).

at least three forms. First, teachers who were liberal reformers found ways to embrace what they saw as progressive, liberal, and regenerative in the redefined colonial relationship, the new colonial citizenship, and modern education. Teachers imagined that the young men who joined the Porto Rican Regiment and the young girls who were introduced to co-ed physical education classes were engaging in regenerative opportunities granted by a liberal and modern colonial government. Second, educators who were radical reformers found greater promise than ever in the regeneration of Puerto Rican families through the process of Americanization. In the tradition of pro-annexationist ideology, Commissioner Juan B. Huyke, for example, believed that the modern and scientific practices that undergirded Americanization ideology in the 1920s promised to instruct working-class mothers in healthy and eugenic mothering practices. In effect, Americanization could help liberate the contemporary child from allegedly “backward” mothering practices. Third, conservative educators and parents rejected some of the gender reforms promoted by liberal reformers and tried to re-impose what they considered more traditional norms. Liberal teachers faced a conservative backlash. The conservative critique not only targeted the modern education of young girls, it also criticized a new generation of female teachers.

In the 1920s, education debates reflected a broader anxiety over changing gender norms. The island’s emerging women’s social movement challenged the assumed authority of the older generation of male teachers and the dominance of patriarchy within the teaching profession. Working-class women unapologetically claimed their rights in public spaces as labor organizers and suffragists. Middle-class women swelled professional ranks. In addition to teaching, they emerged as leaders in social work and nursing (Barceló Miller 1997).<sup>9</sup> As women organized and claimed public spaces, educators debated what they feared to be newly emerging gender crises, as seen in the examples of men’s masculinity during World War I and physical education instruction for boys and girls. These debates allowed for a broadening of definitions of appropriate gender roles in the 1920s. Nevertheless, the debates highlighted the limits of new gender roles and served to reinforce patriarchy within the profession.

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<sup>9</sup> On the history of women in early twentieth-century Puerto Rico, see Acosta Belén 1986, Azize 1985, Azize Vargas 1987, Findlay 1999, Matos Rodríguez & Delgado 1998.

The 1920s debates over education and schools, therefore, highlight the competing visions of colonial citizenship and gender. They also allow us to examine how teachers, as intermediate actors in the colonial hierarchy, contributed to the definition of colonial citizenship for all Puerto Ricans. This was a definition that, in the tradition of autonomist ideology in the early twentieth century, affirmed the uniqueness, difference, and promise of a Puerto Rican identity within the limits and boundaries of U.S. colonialism. The contribution of this article, therefore, is to show how teachers—as historical actors other than elite intellectuals and politicians—also contributed to early twentieth-century debates about the new colonial citizenship granted in 1917. And to note that at the core of the definition of the new colonial citizen and the modern school lay the contested definitions of gender, families, and homes. Through the debates over the citizenship-building project of schools in 1920s Puerto Rico, from the location of the colony, as they questioned traditional gender norms, teachers were making their contribution to the practice of “imperial formations” (Stoler, McGranahan & Perdue 2007).

### **Illiteracy Rates, Masculinity, and War**

The illiteracy rate was at the core of debates over the right to exercise the franchise, capacity for U.S. citizenship, and potential for self-government. In 1899, Puerto Rico’s illiteracy rate was 80 percent (Osuna 1949). For U.S. colonial officials, a high illiteracy rate helped legitimize the founding of colonialism. Both U.S. colonial officials and elite Puerto Rican politicians questioned the capacity of illiterates to fully participate in government. When universal male suffrage was reinstated in 1904, Puerto Rican elites feared losing control over the colonial government to the interests of the working class. The pro-annexation Republican Party proposed that once the illiteracy rate was reduced to 29 percent, they would move forward with a petition for incorporation into the U.S. federation of states. The liberal Unión Party characterized the rate of illiteracy as a “social evil.” Although bourgeois female suffragists in the 1920s demanded the right to vote for their gender, they were divided over whether to support this right for illiterate women (Barceló Miller 1997). Despite the rapid growth in the number of colonial schools and the new access it granted girls and the working

class more broadly in the early 1900s and 1910s, literacy was a privilege of the elite. Adult men and women were the least served by colonial schools (Bobonis & Toro 2007).

The debates over literacy as a measure of capacity for citizenship, as a stepping stone toward self-government, and as a measure of the progress, modernity, and civilization of Puerto Rico took center stage between 1917 and 1919. When newspapers reported that the majority of men who volunteered to join the Porto Rican Regiment during World War I were rejected because they were illiterate, a crisis ensued (Coxhead 1918; Hickle 1918). The 1910 census reported that the island's illiteracy rate had dropped to 65 percent, but in 1917 a larger percentage of rural adult men who had registered for the draft had been rejected. If the majority of adult men were, in fact, illiterate and failed to meet that basic requirement of citizenship, teachers asked, how could they fulfill the duties of the newly granted U.S. citizenship? Literacy and military service were duties, not privileges of citizenship. What did these military rejection rates imply about literacy in Puerto Rico? Were illiteracy rates higher than had been reported? Was public school attendance a privilege for children which excluded adults? Was there a regional division? In 1910, 79 percent of Puerto Ricans lived in rural areas. Had the colonial Department of Education, by founding most schools in urban centers, failed to address the demands for public instruction where it was most urgent—the countryside?

The illiteracy rates among men who volunteered to join the Porto Rican Regiment brought to light the limited reach of public schools in 1917. When Puerto Ricans were granted U.S. citizenship, colonial officials, teachers, and parents demanded urgent attention to teaching literacy. The military rejections generated a crisis about adult men's capacity for citizenship. Working through this crisis became a practice in defining colonial citizenship in the late 1910s.

Before the war, the successes and failures of the colonial Department of Education in Puerto Rico were measured first and foremost by illiteracy rates (García Casanovas 1919; Hickle 1918; Padín 1917a). Colonial administrators proposed the argument that literacy through English-language instruction had to be intensified in order to create U.S. citizens out of colonial subjects. Assistant Commissioner of Education Cary Hickle proudly declared in 1917, now that the Jones Act had been approved, "the chief business of the school is to produce . . . good citizens" (Hickle 1918:7). U.S. colonial



officials saw the path to literacy and to fulfilling requirements of citizenship through English-language instruction. For them, English-language and literacy were at the core of definitions of U.S. citizenship (Negrón de Montilla 1998). While the education scholarship has condemned commissioners for the political motivations behind English-language policies, in fact, in the 1910s and 1920s commissioners were careful to balance English and Spanish-language instruction. The intention was to promote English, while “conserving” Spanish (Hickle 1919). This policy assumed Spanish would remain important on the island, but subordinate to English. Nevertheless, the teaching of English to a Spanish-speaking people in an unincorporated colonial territory was also a practice in further consolidating the colonial relationship between the island and the United States and reinforcing the assumed superiority of Americans over Puerto Ricans.

Improving literacy rates, however, held different meanings within Puerto Rican debates. First, illiteracy rates allowed teachers to critique what they perceived to be the failure of the colonial U.S. Department of Education to satisfy the popular demands of the pueblo for education. The colonial government had not been able to expand quickly enough. They needed to build more schools and train and hire more teachers to educate more children! Newspaper articles declared, “To acquire success what is needed is money, money, and money. Schools, schools, and more schools.”<sup>10</sup> Attaining literacy and access to education was not an imperial imposition. Instead, parents and students demanded it. Sadly, the U.S. colonial Department of Education, many complained, nineteen years after the United States invaded and occupied the island, had failed to meet that demand.<sup>11</sup> This was a critique of the capacity of the colonial government to fulfill the declared promises of “benevolent imperialism.”

Second, low literacy rates allowed others to condemn what they understood to be U.S. colonial administrators’ misguided imperial mission in Puerto Rico. The emphasis on using English as the language of instruction, as part of the grander Americanization vision, was wasting valuable time! Most children only attended school for three years. This was too brief a time to waste teaching English, when they could be teaching literacy in Spanish, in addition to more practical topics such as home economics,

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<sup>10</sup> Miguel M. Toro, “Mi cuarto a espadas,” *El mundo*, April 12, 1919, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> This was a common argument, for example, see García Casanovas 1919.



hygiene, and agriculture.<sup>12</sup> U.S. colonial officials' unrealistic prioritization of English-language instruction had failed to teach the fundamentals, particularly literacy. Therefore, English-language instruction undermined Puerto Rican students' path toward citizenship (Sellés Solá 1931). These criticisms of the priorities of the colonial Department of Education, nevertheless, were also a practice in reinforcing Puerto Rico's colonial relationship to the United States. By advocating the intensification and expansion of schools, teachers and parents were also contributing to the consolidation of a colonial school project, for further incorporation of Puerto Ricans as second-class citizens into the American empire.

Nevertheless, local calls for improved literacy were not always tied to U.S. colonialism. Some educators and parents demanded the eradication of the rate of illiteracy in the name of the progress and modernity of Puerto Rico's "civilization." José C. Díaz, Comerío's school board president, argued that it was "time that we fight to erase that stigma [illiteracy rate] that belittles us to civilized nations" (Díaz 1919:53). For the good of the *patria*, teachers demanded the intense cultivation of culture and dignity, which began with the acquisition of literacy. Díaz (1919:54) concluded: "We would be sinning for lacking patriotism, if we did not fight to extirpate the evil that harms us and that presents us to the world with such a high percentage of illiterates like a country that lacks true and ample culture." Carlos Rivera Ufret, secretary of the AMPR, rivaled Díaz's patriotism, when he called on teachers and other literate persons to "demonstrate to the illiterate the necessity of becoming instructed not only for their own wellbeing, but to contribute by giving a more honorable seal and pride to our race and our beloved land" (Rivera Ufret 1919:10). Teachers wanted to generate pride in representations of Puerto Rican men abroad, to the imagined audience of modern and scientific educators in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. This was a reflection of their vision of self (the *magisterio*) as modern and cosmopolitan, mediated through the shame and embarrassment over the "degeneracy" of working-class adult illiterates.

Three months after granting Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship in 1917, the United States entered the Great War. The U.S. military called on men to

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<sup>12</sup> This was a long-standing criticism proposed by AMPR leadership. It became a mainstream position once it was also supported by the 1925 Columbia University study (International Institute of Teachers' College 1926).

join the U.S. Army through the segregated Porto Rican Regiment and to “do their bit” (Miller 1918). Military service was a crucible. Puerto Rican men, categorized as colonial subjects for the past eighteen years, had just been granted a restricted form of U.S. citizenship and were called to demonstrate their commitment to the empire by serving in the military during war time. This was an important moment for the intensification of autonomist ideology on the island, for choosing to participate in military service in a colonial regiment was a practice in reinforcing the island’s subordinate relationship to the United States. It was, at the same time, an opportunity to assert the capacity of Puerto Rican men for citizenship. A total of 236,000 men participated in the process when they registered for the World War I draft. Out of these, 18,000 men were elected and served. “More than one-half of the teaching force [entered] into the service of the United States as either officers or soldiers” (Miller 1918).

A crisis in the definitions of masculinity and citizenship ensued when the public learned that 75 percent of the volunteers had been rejected from Camp Las Casas. They had failed to meet the U.S. Army’s literacy requirements and physical standards. The rejection of so many adult men, particularly rural men, for failing to meet physical requirements generated a new category in public debates about the definition of colonial citizenship—“physical illiteracy” (Arán 1926; Torregrosa n.d.). The military recruits were doubly illiterate when they failed to meet literacy and physical requirements. The spectacle of physical illiterates had two immediate consequences—a debate over the most effective ways to reconstruct the Puerto Rican “man” and a popular movement in support of literacy campaigns.<sup>13</sup> The concern about overcoming the “physical illiteracy” of adult men, in particular, also reflected the gendered construction of the category of “citizen” in the 1910s and 1920s.

The concept of the “physical illiteracy” of the male military volunteer touched on existing anxieties in Puerto Rican debates over the islands’ “culture,” levels of degeneracy, and limits of modernity. Teachers saw in the military rejection rates an opportunity to advance their agenda for

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<sup>13</sup> The consequence was the reorganization and emphasis on physical education in public schools for both boys and girls (Arán 1926, Gil 1920, Santoni 1920, Torregrosa Rivera 1938); E. Santiago Márquez, En bien de la instrucción, *El mundo*, November 8, 1919, p. 2; and Paul G. Miller, Archivo General de Puerto Rico, Series Oficina del Gobernador, Box 778, General file 3024, Circular Letter no. 32, December 1, 1920.

citizenship-building, by focusing on penetrating rural areas as intensely as possible. The physical illiterate represented everything teachers were trying to overcome through modern education. They encapsulated the worst effects of “traditionalism” within rural communities and the Spanish colonial heritage of neglect of the countryside. The “ignorant masses” were slowing down the island’s ability to catapult into modernity and fully embrace progress. Military rejection rates confirmed how the physical state of Puerto Rican men was “degenerate.” Here was proof that the tropical climate and the isolation of the highlands forced the degeneration of the mythic founding “Latin race.”

The concept of “physical illiteracy,” in fact, complemented teachers’ already existing assumptions about rural communities. The isolation of rural society, from the urban teacher’s perspective, generated little value for literacy, schooling, and modern forms of parenting and homemaking (Concepción 1918; Pérez Mercado 1920). Genaro Concepción (1918) offered a sympathetic yet paternalistic reflection on the *jíbaros*’ condition:

He lives today as his ancestors did many years ago; as innocent as a child, with complete lack of knowledge of events that occur outside of his island, stuck to the land that he irrigates with sweat, and like the pariah of the Middle Ages, he has not an inch where to dig his tomb; . . . he lives in a miserable *bohío* that looks more like a big birds nest rather than human housing; his children barefoot, hungry, and ragged. And the reward for a long suffering and laborious life? When he reaches old age he finds he must go to the towns to beg for public charity so as not to die of hunger and destitution.

*Jíbaros*, sadly, teachers’ argued, were a contemporary representation of the past with little to contribute to the modern nation-building and citizenship-building efforts of Puerto Rico’s liberal progressives.

Thankfully, educators like Concepción argued, the “physical illiteracy” of *jíbaros* was the result of their environment—the highlands, the home, the farm—and was therefore subject to change and regeneration. The war, U.S. citizenship, and military service could be the catalyst for that change. The war, therefore, was a great opportunity for *jíbaro* men to evolve. Through military training, *jíbaros* could be exposed to methods, practices, and experiences they would not have otherwise experienced.

In the Puerto Rican countryside an unexpected transformation is taking place that is completely altering the destiny of our *jíbaros*. What once was tranquility and apathy, today is activity and concerted effort; what once was submission and weakness, is

now patriotism and courageousness . . . It seems that a new Messiah has spoken in the ear of our *jíbaro* the magic words *surge et ambula* (rise and move forward) and to the enchantment of that solemn order he shakes off the traditionalism that weighs on his conscience, like an immense lead slab, and presents himself to America as a new man capable of all sacrifices and renunciations. What magic wand has caused this resurrection? War. (Concepción 1918:46)

Those not accepted into military service, however, were also pulled out of the assumed lull of rural areas, Concepción reported, as they were being asked to contribute to the intensified food production efforts during the war. Finally, once the war was over, military recruits could return to the island and serve as models of labor and leadership to those *jíbaros* left behind (Concepción 1918:46). For Concepción this was a great opportunity for regeneration, the regeneration of local men who contributed military service to the American empire.

Teachers imagined that reversing the illiteracy rate of rural adults, however, required intense effort and support from the entire community. They called on the legislature, politicians, and even U.S. colonial officials to support their initiatives by funding literacy campaigns (Vincenty 1919a, 1919b). Rural illiterate adult men, after all, educators reminded legislators, had the right to vote in insular elections. Literacy was at the core of the right to vote, of the rights of citizenship, of the immediate direction of local politics.

Teachers offered a series of proposals for urgently and systematically attacking the “social evil” of illiteracy and demanded that legislators and the colonial Department of Education support them. More rural schools should be founded and more teachers trained and hired. But in addition, new legislation must allow for compulsory school attendance for children, harsh penalties for parents who kept children out of schools, and mandatory night school attendance for adult illiterates. Luis García Casanova, winning author of the 1918 AMPR annual literary contest, argued that the legislature should fund a “school police force” responsible for conducting a census of illiterate adult men aged 17 to 50. The men could, then, be forced to attend night school. The school police could also enforce compulsory school attendance for children during the day and persecute those parents who took children out of school to labor in the fields or factories.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> García Casanova 1919:12. In the early twentieth century, teachers often turned to legislators to demand compulsory attendance laws and the persecution of parents who failed to

In this early 1917 literacy campaign, teachers designated rural parents and landowners as equally culpable for rates of illiteracy in rural areas. While they called on the colonial state to legislate mandatory school attendance for children and adults, and they imagined rural landowners were hindering literacy by forcing children to work in the fields instead of allowing them to attend school, teachers did not offer a broader critique of the island's colonial economy—agricultural production for export, the expansion of light manufacturing, and the corresponding processes of the proletarianization and loss of land for small farmers (Dietz 1986). Teachers were more critical of the parents that pulled children out of schools than they were of the rural elite who hired them. When they did offer a critique of the rural elite, they called for reform of specific child labor practices rather than colonialism more broadly.<sup>15</sup> The exception to this conservative critique of colonial economics was José Padín. During his brief appointment as assistant commissioner of education in 1917, he offered a critique of U.S. colonialism, the granting of U.S. citizenship, and the labor practices that reinforced colonialism and reproduced dire living conditions for the working class.<sup>16</sup> However, this was likely the type of explicit critique that school teachers would have been censured for sharing publicly.

Teachers were not alone in their mission. Island legislators also proposed a series of projects to support literacy campaigns in 1919. They were guided by the fear that the 1920 census might document little progress in literacy for adult men, particularly now that they had acquired U.S. citizenship.<sup>17</sup>

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send children to school. For example, see Miller 1919, Suarez 1919, and San Juan, Junta Escolar, 1904:18-20. Their request, however, was matched by colonial administrators' interests in school attendance. Colonial officials presented the issue of legislating and enforcing mandatory attendance as the best way to protect children from abuse by illegal forms of labor in factories and the fields. See "Child Labor and School Attendance," *Puerto Rico School Review* 4, November 1919, pp. 8-9; "Ley regulando el trabajo de mujeres y niños, y protegiéndolos contra ocupaciones peligrosas," *Puerto Rico School Review* 4, November 1919, pp. 62-65; and Paul G. Miller, Archivo General de Puerto Rico, Series Oficina del Gobernador, Box 686, File Enero 31/1917, Document no. 1500, January 31, 1917.

<sup>15</sup> Julio B. Ortiz, "Sobre el analfabetismo," *El mundo*, October 29, 1919, p. 8; Suárez 1919.

<sup>16</sup> Padín's 1917 critique foreshadowed the anti-colonial pro-nativist economic reform policies he advocated when he became Puerto Rico's Commissioner of Education in 1930. Padín 1917b.

<sup>17</sup> "83 escuelas nocturnas se establecerán en la Isla," *El mundo*, September 17, 1919, p. 2 and Rivera Ufret 1919.

And reducing literacy was a concern that the colonial reformist leadership of the Partido Unión, Partido Republicano, and Partido Socialista shared in the late 1910s. Fear of the illiteracy rate of adult men in the age of universal male suffrage demanded forming difficult alliances and coalitions in the late 1910s and 1920s (Bernabe 1996). Three legislators proposed a bill to found a Universidad Popular, or People's University, which could contribute to the specific goal of teaching literacy, while also offering conferences and lectures by local political leaders and educators on contemporary matters.<sup>18</sup> Other legislative proposals requested \$20,000 to be distributed as cash prizes for teachers and students who taught literacy in their private time.<sup>19</sup> A call was made to fund a Liga de Instrucción para Analfabetos to combat the "army of illiterates . . . crucifying our land with its ignorance."<sup>20</sup> These proposals resonated with teachers' initiatives. Educators such as Carlos Rivera Ufret called on eighth-grade graduates, "as proof of civic responsibility and . . . interest in our people . . . and gratitude to our *patria*," to take the initiative to establish night schools and teach adults literacy. "It is worth us making the sacrifice for the good of our poor class and for the pride of our country!" (Rivera Ufret 1919).

The initiatives proposed by teachers, legislators, and concerned community members imagined the regeneration of the large number of "physical illiterates" that came to light during the recruitment efforts of World War I. In their proposals, historical actors engaged in two interconnected conversations. As they proposed ways to support literacy campaigns "to teach them [*jíbaros*] how to live as men and as citizens," they were at the same time further inscribing themselves and their initiatives in support of the colonial form of U.S. citizenship they had just been granted.<sup>21</sup> Achieving literacy and regenerating the physicality of rural men were at the heart of local intentions to create healthier and more "cultured" male citizens. Teachers identified this to be a minimal requirement of citizenship, as a marker of progress, culture, and civility among modern nations. The teachers'

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<sup>18</sup> "La Universidad Popular en Puerto Rico. Importante proyecto de ley," *El mundo*, April 21, 1919, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> "Por la cultura de Puerto Rico," *El mundo*, March 15, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> M. Saavedra, "El único camino para combatir el analfabetismo," *El mundo*, October 24, 1919, p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> M. Saavedra, "El único camino para combatir el analfabetismo," *El mundo*, October 24, 1919, p. 7.

campaign, however, lacked a critique of the colonial limitations of the franchise and on the colonial and subordinate relationship that military volunteers reproduced through military service. The 1917-19 literacy debates, nevertheless, allowed teachers to promote the regeneration of adult men, for the good of Puerto Rico, within the limits of U.S. colonialism.

### Gender and Physical Education

The spectacle of the “physical illiteracy” of Puerto Rican men during the World War I registration campaign generated long-term consequences for the colonial school curriculum. In addition to the more immediate demands for literacy campaigns, it led to a transformation in the definition and practice of physical education (Arán 1925). Organized athletics and sports, especially baseball, had been part of high school sports culture, particularly in larger urban towns. However, as awareness emerged in the 1920s of the “presence of so many physically abnormal children” and the fear of a “cataclysm of physical degeneration” of students’ bodies, teachers began to advocate the expansion of physical education for all students (Sellés Solá 1921b). The transition to a “modern” version of physical education was imagined to be a requirement for establishing a “foundation for citizenship.” Modern physical education, with its intention to create healthy citizens, was meant to reach beyond select athletes to the general student body and to be equally accessible to both boys and girls. While educators agreed about the value of creating “perfect citizens” in Puerto Rico, the co-education aspect raised some reservations (Urrutia 1921:16). Should young girls be allowed to take physical education classes, where they might be wearing athletic clothing, alongside boys, in the outdoors, under the sun? The debate over how much access to grant girls became a conversation about the limits of modern school practices in colonial schools. In the 1920s, as educators debated the transition from athletics to physical education for the “good of the *patria*” and with the intention to create citizens, they were also engaging in the process of defining the limits of the “modern girl” and “proper motherhood.”

The physical education movement was not embraced with the same urgency and enthusiasm as the literacy campaign of the late 1910s. The educators who advocated more aggressively for physical education, who



employed a neo-Lamarckian eugenic discourse, and who closely linked physical health and forming “perfect citizens,” were particularly represented within the leadership of the 1920s teaching profession. In the 1920s, a new generation of men, after working as teachers and attaining higher education and training in the 1910s, moved into administrative and leadership positions within the colonial Department of Education. They became principals of municipal high schools, supervisors of school districts, and directors of departments. Many had been long-term members or leaders of the AMPR in the late 1910s. It was this group of educators—Gerardo Sellés Solá, Pedro Gil, Julio Fiol Negrón, and Carlos V. Urrutia—who began to replace U.S. educators in the Department of Education. The department became increasingly controlled by local educators, although under the leadership of Juan B. Huyke, a commissioner who was adamantly pro-Americanization and pro-English. The core elite of Puerto Rican educators assumed leadership of the physical education campaign in the 1920s. As they did so, they often considered the average young teacher and parents as constituencies they had to educate about the value of physical education and the urgency of this project for Puerto Rico.

The transition from athletics to physical education after the war was, first, about definitions of citizenship. Yes, “physical illiterates” had raised the alarm about the alleged “degeneracy” in the majority of the adult population. More importantly, however, they generated closer scrutiny of the health and hygiene of students’ bodies. In 1920, Pedro Gil, the principal and athletic director of Yauco High School appealed for a commitment to physical education on behalf of all teachers. “We witnessed half of our young men rejected during the first recruitment due to physical incapacity. [It] renders them incapable of carrying out military duties and denies them the first obligation of all citizens—defense of country. Are we, educators, to stand by and remain undaunted and immutable before such a terrible reality? . . . Are we pretending to create a citizenry [*pretendemos levantar un pueblo*] out of this anemic and scrawny *raza*, one that is prepared to stand proudly among civilized nations?” (Gil 1920:12). The “weakness” of “our *raza*,” represented in students’ bodies, had to be overcome in the interest of creating healthy and robust citizens for the *patria*. The health of the body was the foundation for the development of moral and intellectual abilities. Gil (1920:18) concluded:

We have the moral obligation to mold the future generation: . . . we must not forget for an instant physical education, the foundation on which rests the rules of order that will make our men strong so they may assume the fight in defense of the holy principles of UNIVERSAL DEMOCRACY.<sup>22</sup>

Students' bodies not only represented the physical "weakness of the *raza*." They were also emblematic of social conditions that the middle-class teaching profession feared and defined as working-class practices. These social behaviors, in addition to the physical bodies, were targeted for rehabilitation in the 1920s. Physical education courses, like the literacy campaigns, were intended as a cure to the imagined debilitating and corruptive examples children might have been exposed to in both their homes and public streets. Newspapers reported increases in juvenile delinquency, lamented the spectacle of street children, and questioned children's participation in games that incorporated gambling (dice, dominoes, horseracing, cock-fighting, and even baseball).<sup>23</sup> The physical and moral instruction students received in physical education courses, teachers argued, would help students overcome those negative environmental influences, which could, in neo-Lamarckian logic, otherwise prove corruptive for future generations.

Prewar athletic traditions, as a result, were characterized as *decadente*, generating decay. They were traditional, elitist, and individualistic. The more physically fit students were chosen to participate in high school and semi-professional teams. They became the "privileged" elite few who received attention and resources from coaches. Municipal teams met once a year to compete in the Insular Annual Interscholastic Athletic meet (Faberllé 1925). It was there, Gil (1920:14-15) argued, that you could best identify the stark differences between the few elite athletes and the majority of students: "While we see teams of strong, robust, children full of life and happiness, who have been mentored into the sport . . . we forget about the physically weak, scrawny, diseased youth." In the stands, the children's "quiet weeping" fell on silent ears as they witnessed the "wheel of progress" leaving them in the past.

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<sup>22</sup> Emphasis in original.

<sup>23</sup> This was a common concern for teachers (Sellés Solá 1921a, 1921b; Antonio G. Martínez, "El problema de los niños," *El mundo*, December 3, 1919, p. 9; Rafael Martínez Marrero, "Cuestiones pedagógicas. Después de las 4 p.m.," *El mundo*, August 13, 1919, p. 10; and Félix Matos Bernier, "Los brotes de la vida," *El mundo*, January 13, 1921, p. 6).

In addition, traditional “recreation” was feared to be organized around gambling. Horseracing and cockfighting, in particular, were defined as corrupting and immoral for young children (Sellés Solá 1921b:34). Elite teachers identified these activities as part of a colonial Spanish heritage that was failing to contribute to the contemporary push for the regeneration of the citizenry. Physical education, as a counterpoint to the traditional Spanish popular practices, was part of a modern health and hygiene campaign. It was meant to be healthy, progressive, inclusive, and popular, to generate a sense of community. Advocating for modern physical education, therefore, required that teachers negotiate Spanish and U.S. heritages, influences, and visions.

U.S. educators who came to the island to evaluate the state of athletics, physical education, and leisure activities in the 1920s identified local traditional games as the worst examples of Spanish elitism and gambling. They juxtaposed these Spanish practices with the best American ones, defined as democratic, inclusive, modern, and progressive. Helen V. Bary’s assessment of “child welfare” on the island celebrated that schools were transitioning away from Spanish games. Children were benefiting from the “transition from the old tradition of Spanish aristocracy to that of American democracy—of universal participation and responsibility to community life” (Bary 1923:67). U.S. educators’ definitions of appropriate physical education curricula were exported from Columbia University to U.S. colonies. The physical education course books and the visiting faculty from the United States traveled and shared experiences across Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The regeneration of colonial students through physical education was part of a broader 1920s American imperial project.

In Puerto Rico, meanwhile, teachers offered more nuanced characterizations of physical education. Yes, it was considered foundational for creating modern citizens. And while the citizens they were creating were of a colonial type, teachers were explicit that they were advocating the creation of well-rounded citizens for the good of their *patria* and their country, which in the 1920s they identified to be Puerto Rico, not the United States. Ismael Ramos, a physical education teacher from Mayagüez, reported, “One of my life dreams had always been to have the opportunity of offering the youth of my country, this little Island, the means of acquiring a well-developed body which may serve as a basis for future generations, for every learned person knows that the mind cannot attain its fullest development in all its

activities unless it is within a well-developed body" (Ramos 1926:39). The potential for witnessing progress and achieving modernity, as seen through the healthy regeneration of student bodies, therefore, was not a simple exercise of teachers embracing Americanization practices. Instead, it was a deliberate negotiation of the aspects of modern education theory which they identified as important for the regeneration of Puerto Rico's students, for the good of the country. This was an example of autonomist ideology in practice, as teachers chose to advocate physical education within colonial schools as a modern practice that was particularly relevant to local conditions.

How did teachers intend to implement physical education and its broader citizenship-building goals? The primary goal was to make it accessible to the majority of the students. First, they advocated the training and hiring of instructors specially trained in physical education as well as making it a mandatory course. Baseball and track-and-field coaches, educators feared, were invested in the success of their semi-professional teams at the expense of teaching greater lessons, for example, sportsmanship. And, as the director of the new Physical Education Department explained, they feared that many *maestras inexpertas*, inexperienced female teachers, simply were lacking training and preparation to effectively teach physical education (Gil 1920:13).

As a result of the elite teachers' campaign for the expansion of physical education, and the support and collaboration of the colonial Department of Education, a new generation of physical education instructors were trained, hired, and deployed throughout the public schools. The Department of Education hired ten physical education instructors in the 1920s, only one was female.<sup>24</sup> Those who were recruited and trained as physical education instructors epitomized the ideal modern man—athlete, veteran, teacher. The Faberllé brothers were key examples. Before the war, they were famous athletes. Ciqui and Fabito Faberllé were two of the four most well-known baseball players of the time, known as the *cuatro jinetes del beisbol* (the four leaders).<sup>25</sup> During the war, they served in the Porto Rican Regiment and were members of the regiment's baseball team. After the war, they were

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<sup>24</sup> Physical education instruction and teacher training was founded in the 1920s. It would develop more fully into a profession that meant to address the needs of the majority of the population in the late 1930s.

<sup>25</sup> The other two *jinetes* were Cosme Beitía Sálamo and Gacho Torres.

recruited into the physical education training program at the University of Puerto Rico. They represented the best example of intellectual, moral, and physical development.<sup>26</sup> This idealized modern man was imagined capable of leading the “physical illiterate” out of the past into the present through the teaching of physical education.

Advocacy of mandatory physical education, however, was more important than the physical education classes themselves. It was about applying neo-Lamarckian eugenic ideology in support of the sanitation and hygiene of public spaces and the home. Teachers called for the founding of public parks where students could play “healthy” games under the supervision of teachers (Sellés Solá 1921c:44-46). The curriculum should also provide for organized leisure activities. The modern methods of physical education, which included supervised outdoor play, were meant to replace the unsupervised time children spent in public spaces, which Sellés Solá and others feared was exposing children to “social vices” (gambling, drinking, smoking, and prostitution) and potentially leading to the degeneration of future generations of the *raza*. As Sellés Solá (1921b:35) exhorted:

Let us raise strong generations, proud of this condition and inclined to conserve it, giving them a pure and moral life, and an adequate mental cultivation. Let us form the perfect home, the happy home. Our *patria* will thus become great thanks to the health, purity, intelligence, and hard work of its sons.

While literacy campaigns generated popular support, parents proved less than enthusiastic about the modern practice of physical education. Elite teachers expected parents to contribute to the physical education move-

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<sup>26</sup> Beitía Sálamo attended Ponce High School, where he excelled in track and field and baseball. One of the “four leaders” of baseball in the 1920s, he founded the professional baseball team known as “Puerto Rico Sports.” Beitía Sálamo earned a bachelor’s degree from the University of Puerto Rico, a master’s degree in physical education from Columbia University, and a law degree from the University of Puerto Rico. He was the first professor of physical education at the University of Puerto Rico. In 1929, he founded the Liga Atlética Intercolegial. Beitía Sálamo was also a first lieutenant in the Regimiento 65 de Infantería and a member of the National Guard of Puerto Rico. Fortier Méndez also attended Ponce High School, where he was both a student and the coach of the school’s baseball team. Fortier Méndez served in World War I as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Army. He retired from the military as an infantry captain. Fortier Méndez was one of the first professors of physical education in 1920s, assigned to the Guayama High School (Tomasini 1992:18-22, 92-94).

ment in multiple ways. The propertied classes should donate plots of land to be developed into public parks or athletic fields. The less wealthy parents, at the very least, should support teachers' efforts to expose their children to modern methods of sports and recreation. However, elite teachers were hard pressed to understand why all parents were not abundantly enthusiastic about physical education. Some even lacked empathy for those parents who asked for their children to be excused from physical education classes because their participation was wearing down the children's clothing and shoes. Carlos Urrutia (1921:17), a leading member of the AMPR appointed to the newly created position of Superintendent of Physical Education in 1921, considered this a small sacrifice: "Who cares if they break a pair of shoes? That is insignificant. The health and happiness of the family make up for such small loses." In his enthusiasm for physical education, Urrutia failed to empathize with the economic challenges working-class parents faced in the 1920s. They, in fact, struggled to provide clothing for their children so they could attend school.

In particular, educators were dismissive of those they identified as "conservative parents," characterized as "incredulous" and from a "past era," who opposed the modernization and diversification of school curriculum. These parents were particularly concerned about girls' access to physical education. When parents wrote notes to teachers requesting their girls be exempted from physical education classes, teachers rumored it was due to their "traditional" and "conservative" thinking about girls and women's roles (Urrutia 1921:17). Parents were concerned about co-ed physical education classes in high schools. They were not interested in having their daughters running around public plazas and playgrounds under the glaring sun. For some educators, it was these conservative parents' traditional characterization of women's role in the community and family which had to be overcome. While Puerto Rican educators experienced "some difficulties" in their campaign to expand physical education, they felt particularly challenged by the "old customs and traditions of the people, who expect for their girls, not the sturdy, hardy type of Anglo-Saxon womanhood, but rather a medieval type of girl, light-skinned, sweet, delicate, brittle, romantic, and highly sensitive" (Fiol Negrón 1929:44).

Elite teachers identified this conflict and resistance as parental misunderstandings about traditional versus modern definitions of "proper womanhood." Teachers countered conservative parents by deploying the 1920s ideology of "social feminism" (Barceló Miller 1997). Julio Fiol Negrón, the

new supervisor of physical education in 1928, argued in support of girls' right to physical education. Girls "have a right to the sports and amusements of the world just as they have a share in the tears and toils of life." On the one hand, girls had to develop their health and strength in order to succeed in their future occupations. More women than ever were employed outside the home. As "a rival of man in the world's work . . . the occasions for her to use physical strength have multiplied, whether she be in a room facing fifty pupils, or typewriting, selling, curing, giving legal advice, or laboring in field or factory." Such labor required physical strength and "vigor." On the other, he reproduced the biological differences between men and women. Girls also had the right to develop healthy bodies to prepare them to fulfill their "earthly mission in this world, bearing and rearing children." Elite educators such as Fiol Negrón defined women's appropriate roles in public and private spaces within the modern patriarchy of early twentieth-century Puerto Rico and argued that they too were "entitled to the privileges of a complete education" (Fiol Negrón 1929:44). Girls' rights to physical education, their right to overcome conservative parents' apprehension about modern girls' practices in colonial schools, were rationalized within the parameters of local patriarchy. The visions for the modern girl were neither a U.S. imposition nor revolutionary. They were, nevertheless, social feminist visions about the new requirements for a modern and liberal Puerto Rico.

In the 1920s, the directors of the newly founded Department of Physical Education oversaw its expansion through the hiring of specialized teachers and the broadening of the curriculum. A special section was created in the education journal *Puerto Rico School Review* to promote the activities and goals of physical education in the classroom. The intention of the articles and the images published in the section was to educate teachers on the value of physical education and to suggest the best methods through which to promote it. The images published in the *PRSR*, with the intention to promote physical education for girls, suggest how educators struggled to balance appropriate practices that supported their definition of the new modern schoolgirl. Some of the images were typical of those that might have represented U.S. physical education classes in the 1920s—high-school-aged girls wearing knee-length shorts or skirts and socks pulled up to the knees, running track, stretching in organized rows, or playing basketball. Other images, however, represented island-specific interpretations of acceptable female domesticity promoted through schools.



For example, in the November 1926 edition, teacher Generosa Fernández wrote an article introducing the U.S.-based organization founded in 1912 known as the Girls Scouts. In the article, Fernández defined the intention of the organization to be threefold: to introduce girls to natural and healthy outdoor activities that help develop body and mind; to provide them the skills to become responsible homemakers; and to serve the community. The goals of the Girls Scouts fit perfectly within the social feminist vision that women could be educated to become more efficient and modern in their home making and civic duties. However, the image that accompanied Fernández's article highlighted a more traditional interpretation of appropriate activities for young girls as they were promoted through physical education coursework in 1920s Puerto Rico. It was a photograph of the young women who were members of the "Future Mothers' League" in the Juncos public schools. The Girls Scouts mission was progressive as it imagined women's civic duties in the community and the practice of physical activity in the outdoors. The acceptable local version of women's clubs, however, emphasized training young girls in the required skills for their primary responsibility as mothers (Fernández 1926:43).

A second popular image in the Physical Education section of the *PRSR* presented children engaged in folk dance. Elizabeth Lutes, an instructor of "Natural Dancing," promoted teaching dance to children as a form of physical and intellectual expression. "Dancing does not mean only that one is able to move in time to music. It means a finer understanding of emotional expression, a free, uninhibited use of the intellect." Dancing was an "intellectual activity worthy of prominent place in physical education" (Lutes 1927:39-41). It was also acceptable within local schools, for it complemented local views that women were more delicate, refined, and artistic than men. Folk dancing, in particular, was a method that helped local girls develop their feminine, rather than feminist, characteristics. The folk dances taught in schools in the 1920s originated from Europe, rather than the island or the Caribbean region. The photograph that accompanied Lutes's article on natural dance captured the work of a first-grade teacher from Carolina, Esperanza Cuín. Cuín's class posed for a photograph that exhibited their mastery over a French minuet.

By the late 1920s, elite teachers proudly reported that, after their campaigns in local communities, parents were fortunately beginning to "awaken." They were no longer, through their conservative and traditional

biases, inhibiting the progress of colonial schools. Young girls, as well as boys, would reap the benefits of modern physical education with the support of the enlightened parents. "Parents and teachers are today in agreement that the school cannot generate character, that is, cannot fulfill the essential goal of education, as long as we are not instilling in the child the habits of play and physical development, disciplining his will, molding good hearts and perfect citizens" (Urrutia 1921:17).

Building from the momentum for "regeneration" that came from the World War I rejection rates, teachers linked physical education, modern practices, and citizenship-building. Teachers imagined that fulfilling the requirements of colonial citizenship required a gendered reconstruction of boys and girls through the schools. Overcoming physical illiteracy, while initially focused on adult men's alleged degenerate physical bodies and illiteracy rates, also meant redefining women's roles in schools and modern society. If women were to carry out their complementary roles, as wife-mother-educator, then teachers also had to address female physical illiteracy. Regenerating girls' health, exposing them to modern methods of physical education, leisure, and recreation, above and beyond the reservations of conservative parents, was one way teachers could generate modern colonial citizens in the 1920s.

## Conclusion

The late 1910s and 1920s provided historical moments of crises and contradictions. The highly contested definition of colonial citizenship emerged and created a space where gender ideologies and practices required further clarification. Generational differences highlighted the boundaries of the social constructions of gender, patriarchy, and citizenship. Negotiating the new definition of colonial citizenship within the new imperial framework required balancing definitions of tradition and modernity. Teachers elected aspects of the Spanish and Puerto Rican heritages and practices to retain, if they were not considered too "backward" and "traditional." They redefined modern practices as progressive Puerto Rican initiatives, rather than as American impositions. This process of negotiating the definition of colonial citizenship, the intention of schools, and the reconstruction of the gender roles, was carefully worked out within the limits of the colonial

framework established by Jones Act. Through these debates and practices, teachers as intermediate actors, contributed to the process of reproducing and consolidating “imperial formations.”

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## The Suppression of Leonard Howell in Late Colonial Jamaica, 1932–1954

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### Abstract

This article is about Leonard Percival Howell, the man who is widely regarded as the founder of the Rastafari movement, which started in Jamaica in 1932. The article focuses on the attempts to suppress Howell during the foundational phase of the Rastafari movement from 1932 to 1954. This was the period in which Howell began preaching the divinity of Haile Selassie I, who was crowned the emperor of Ethiopia in 1930. In 1937, Howell established the friendly organization known as the Ethiopian Salvation Society, and in 1940 started the first Rastafari community in the hills of the parish of St. Catherine, Jamaica. These and his other religio-political activities made Howell the target of one of the longest and most aggressive campaigns to suppress an anticolonial activist during the late colonial period in Jamaica. However, one of the main points of this article is that the attempts to suppress Howell, who was seen by the colonial government as seditious, implicated not just the colonial regime, but also a number of other opponents within the society. This article is an attempt to show that Howell's suppression was not exclusively a colonial endeavor, but a society-wide campaign to undermine his leadership in order to disband the Rastafari movement. Howell advocated an anticolonialism that was seen as too revolutionary by every participant in the campaign to suppress him and his movement, and particularly aggravating was the notion that a black monarch was the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, and whose ascension signaled the start of black nationalism as a global liberation movement to end white rule over Africans and people of African descent.

### Keywords

Rastafarianism, colonialism, black nationalism, Ethiopia, millenarianism

### Introduction

In this article, I examine Leonard Percival Howell's foundational leadership of the Rastafari movement to show his contribution to black nationalism



and by extension, his role in Jamaica's fight against colonialism.<sup>1</sup> I have chosen to focus on the attempts to suppress him by the colonial government, local press, traditional churches, labor leadership, and creole nationalism, as well as parts of the civilian population, including whites, coloreds, and blacks. The attempted suppression of Howell was an extensive campaign, which indicates the fear that Howell's message and activities might trigger the violent removal of British rule from colonial Jamaica. Howell and his lieutenant, Robert Hinds, spread the ideas of the Rastafari movement during its early phase, when it gained traction among the poorest group in the society, the peasantry. (Hinds, Joseph Hibbert, and Henry Archibald Dunkley later became leaders of their own groups.)<sup>2</sup> Interestingly, it wasn't the institutional opposition to Howell per se that catapulted him and the early Rastafari movement to the national stage; instead, antagonism toward Howell was couched in a resistance to his promotion of the divinity of Emperor Selassie I. Between 1932-1954, Howell preached the divinity of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia (who had been crowned in Addis Ababa in 1930), and established the first Rastafari community in Jamaica in the hills of St. Catherine's parish in 1940. In 1954, the police force of the partially creole nationalist government raided the Pinnacle encampment for the second time, hoping to end the popularity of Leonard Howell and the burgeoning Rastafari movement.

Howell's message was revolutionary. He advised the black people of colonial Jamaica that Emperor Selassie I was "the head over all man" and "the Supreme God"—advice or instructions that he repeated in his small book, *The Promised Key*, which was published in 1935 (Howell 1995:5). Howell delivered a message to African Jamaicans that was similar to the one that Marcus Garvey had enunciated after his own return to Jamaica in 1927. This was that Africans in every part of the global African diaspora should look east to Ethiopia for the crowning of a king who would lead them out of white domination. Garvey had abandoned this idea in 1937

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<sup>1</sup> Many thanks are due to Dr. Jahlani Niaah and Dr. Rachel Moseley-Wood, of the University of the West Indies, Mona, for their help with this article, and also to the anonymous reviewers, who pointed out where other revisions were needed. I also wish to thank Monty Howell, Sister Hodesh, and the Howellites, who introduced me to vital archival materials and consented to have me interview them for this article.

<sup>2</sup> To the best of my knowledge, I am not related to the Rastafari patriarch Henry Archibald Dunkley.

after Selassie fled to London to escape the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, which started in May 1936. In a famous editorial, Garvey condemned the Ethiopian emperor as a “coward.”<sup>3</sup> However, Howell never lost his faith in the emperor, and continued to advocate the millenarian perspective of his ascension in 1930 as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, and the beginning of black liberation in Jamaica and around the world.

In recent years, the scholarship on Howell has seen a great deal of growth. This is a welcome change in light of the years of neglect, seen from the start of Rastafari studies in the work of the American anthropologist, George E. Simpson, who had not even mentioned Howell in his groundbreaking article (Simpson 1955:167-70). In the famous *Report on the Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica*, published in 1960, Howell was presented to the public mainly as a criminal, and as someone who was quite likely insane (Smith, Augier & Nettleford 1960:6, 8, 9). Leonard E. Barrett’s and Joseph Owens’ studies in the 1960s and 1970s spread knowledge of the Rastafari movement. Howell was mentioned as one of the founders of the movement in these studies, but he was not examined in great detail, and the attempts to suppress him were not given the deserved attention. However, there is at present a great deal more on Howell in terms of scholarship. The change started with Robert Hill’s gripping article, which was published in 1981, or in the same year that Howell died (Hill 1981:30-71).<sup>4</sup> This was followed in the 1980s and 1990s by studies by Michael Hoenisch, Barry Chevannes, Frank Jan van Dijk, and William David Spencer, and in the first decade of this century by Hélène Lee and Charles Price.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Marcus Garvey, The Failure of Haile Selassie as Emperor, *Black Man*, March-April 1937.

<sup>4</sup> A shorter version of this seminal article was republished in *Jamaica Journal* (1983). The original article is now available as a short monograph, *Dread History: Leonard P. Howell and Millenarian Visions in the Early Rastafarian Religion* (2001).

<sup>5</sup> Hoenisch 1988:432-49; Chevannes 1994:121-24; Dijk 1995:67-101; Spencer 1998:361-89; Lee 2003; Price 2009:58-64. Chevannes mentions Howell throughout his study, but provides a brief biography of him in the pages to which I refer in the in-text citation. Lee’s book is a biography of Howell, and in fact the first full-length work on Howell. Price’s book, like Chevannes’ earlier work, also mentions Howell throughout, but without a biographical section like Chevannes provided. Nevertheless, Price goes into some amount of detail about Howell’s arrest and trial for sedition in 1934, which can be found in the pages that I refer to in the in-text citation.

My departure from this work is my focus on the attempts to suppress Howell, attempts which were largely unsuccessful, given both the worldwide success of Rastafarianism and Jamaican independence. Despite Lee's argument, Howell did not become wary or disheartened because of the attempts that were made to bring about his suppression (Lee 2003:218). After suffering for years on behalf of the Rastafari movement, it was no longer necessary for Howell to occupy the national spotlight. Other leaders were in place to carry on the work that Howell had started. Claudius Henry, for example, had established an encampment of his own in the hills of St. Andrew's parish in 1959, and the revisionist Dr. Vernon Carrington, also known as Prophet Gad, founded the 12 Tribes Mansion in 1968, which managed to gain adherents from among the brown-skinned or colored middle class of Jamaica.

After the 1954 police incursion at Pinnacle, Howell decided to play a secondary role, leaving the movement in the hands of the other leaders. They began to modify the early doctrine of Howell and to broaden the leadership provided by Hinds, Hibbert, Dunkley, and Altamont Reid. Meanwhile, reports in the *Daily Gleaner*, which had remained the most widely circulated newspaper in colonial Jamaica, showed that Howell continued to be harangued by the government and its police force, and by members of the civilian population after 1954.

There were reports that Howell was attacked more than once at Pinnacle due to his unwavering stance on the cultivation of marijuana in the community, and of course its use as a sacrament by members of the Rastafari movement.<sup>6</sup> The police returned to Pinnacle several times following the second raid in 1954 on ganja eradication expeditions, and to remove any remaining followers of Howell who were still residing in the community. These raids even took place during the postcolonial period of the 1970s under Michael Manley's government, which had embraced an Afrocentric policy in its promotion of Jamaica's cultural identity, one that drew from the philosophy of the Rastafari movement. In essence, Manley adopted the black nationalism of Rastafari as a way to gain widespread support from the island's black majority for his democratic socialist ideology (Birthwright 2011:264-70). Because of this, Howell could not have withdrawn himself

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<sup>6</sup> Gunmen Terrorize Rastas Demanding "the Weed". *Daily Gleaner*, 23 May 1979, p. 1.

fully from the spotlight as one of the founders of Rastafari, even if this was what he might have wanted to do.

I am also particularly concerned about Charles Price's *Becoming Rasta: Origins of Rastafari Identity in Jamaica*, in which the author argues that Howell was thrust into the "national spotlight" by the "Government's attempts to quash the Rastafari" during the period of British colonial rule, and suggests that the publicity that Rastafari got from these attempts to suppress the movement was one of the "unintended consequences" of the campaign, or "by reporting on Howell and the Rastafari and by reprimanding Howell, the authorities' effort to disrupt the emergent Rastafari had the unanticipated consequence of amplifying their beliefs." In other words, the movement was able to undergo at least some of its growth within colonial Jamaica because measures were taken by the government to undermine and to end the leadership of foundational figures such as Howell (Price 2009:58, 60). This is an interesting thesis, but it is essentially untrue.

In fact, Howell was the one who made himself famous promoting the message of Rastafari and black nationalism, and the colonial regime, fearing popular independence and revolution, responded in one of the longest and most consistent campaigns against any opponent of colonialism in British Jamaica during the twentieth century. Howell remained the main target, even when it was his community of Pinnacle that was raided by the police, and his followers were sent to jail. He was already in the national spotlight when the campaign to suppress him began, and it was his popularity, and the potential that this had to grow even further, that threw his opposition into a state of frenzy. This rage and the eagerness to see him undermined continued unabated as Howell was in jail, and condemned to the lunatic asylum in Kingston. Even while locked away, his list of opponents grew, and calls were made by the groups from outside of the colonial government to take further and decisive action to bring about an effective end to Howell's activities and his influence.

Hoenisch (1988:433) suggested this view in his article, but his use of Foucault's framework to explain the attempts to suppress Howell as a colonial spectacle seems problematic because it suggests the anti-Howell campaign was an almost exclusively colonial undertaking, a perspective echoed by Van Dijk (1995:67). Howell's suppression, or the attempts made to suppress him, was not solely a colonial reaction. When the Dangerous Drugs Act was amended in 1948 to make marijuana illegal, for example, the government

at that moment was partially democratic (Haughton 2011:48). Power was shared between the colonizers and an elected House of Representatives. The latter was established under the Moyne Constitution of 1944, which had introduced Universal Adult Suffrage in that year, yet another major change in the direction of a democratic government, which was comprised of representatives of the general population.

### **Background, Leadership, and Context**

Howell is widely regarded as the first Rastafari leader, indicated for instance by Hélène Lee's *The First Rasta: Leonard Howell and the Rise of Rastafarianism*. Born in Red Hills, a district in the parish of Clarendon, Jamaica, on 16 June 1898, Howell was of African descent, and his dark complexion enhanced his leadership, but in the context of colonial Jamaica this also ensured that he would have to struggle to maintain this leadership position. The most prominent leaders by the end of the 1930s were the colored or brown-skinned creole nationalists, Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley, who were leaders of the labor movement. Howell became their adversary partly because he had put himself into the role of a leader of the poor and dispossessed majority of the island, and partly because of his dark-skinned complexion, which made him a more attractive option as a leader to the majority African population than his brown-skinned competitors at the head of the organized labor movement. It was clear that Howell shared the history of the black majority, namely the subjugation and dispossession under British slavery and British colonial rule. Creole nationalists rejected as too revolutionary Howell's black nationalism but they could not ignore him.

Howell's emergence in Clarendon took place at a time when many East Indians lived in parts of the parish. It is therefore no surprise that, as both Hill and Lee have pointed out, Howell made use of his exposure to Indian culture and the Hindi language. Evidence of this was seen in his decision to author *The Promised Key* under the pseudonym G.G. Maragh, which his followers later expanded to Ganganguru Maragh, and then contracted to Gong, names which Howell embraced and demonstrated the political influence of Indian culture (Hill 1983:24; Lee 2003:10, 17). Indians had arrived as indentured laborers, and were attracted to Howell by his opposition to colonialism; based on their experience in Jamaica, and through his

association with the Indians, he enhanced his anticolonial message. An estimated 37,000 Indians had arrived in Jamaica between 1843 and 1916, mostly to do the plantation work that the black population had done as slaves, and which many had abandoned after the emancipation of 1838. They were unwilling to accept the unfair wages, high rents for plantation housing, and the poor management practices of the planters. To make matters worse, most of these planters were also their former slaveholders (Scarano 1989:73; Shepherd 1996:245; Shepherd 2009:191).

Howell's use of Hindu 'visual' symbolism in the promotion of the Rastafari movement has received attention from scholars, and the most recent work on this has been done by the late art historian, Petrine Archer (Archer 2011:2). In addition, the ritual use of marijuana, and its association with Indians, which appear in the traditions of *sadhana* and *prasad*, has been examined in other studies (Mansingh & Mansingh 1985:96-115). By joining African and Indian traditions in his shaping of the Rastafari movement, Howell gave both groups representation and a sense of agency in colonial Jamaica. Together, they made Howell at least not objectionable to Indians, while his popularity among dark-skinned, African-identified Jamaicans grew. Unlike many of his black and brown followers, Howell was quite literate, not only writing *The Promised Key*, but starting a newspaper, *The People's Voice*, in the late 1930s, and as Chavannes has observed, Howell promoted himself as learned and well-read. Adopting a range of identities and titles including "scientist," medical doctor, philosopher, and prophet, Howell further intrigued his followers. Together, these identities enhanced his authority by giving his followers the impression that he was a man of many talents, therefore someone who was undoubtedly qualified to lead (Chevannes 1994:122, 124).

When he returned to Jamaica in 1932, Howell had been away since 1916, living as an immigrant like the Indians who came to Jamaica. He was only eighteen years old when he left the island. The story that Lee has told is that his father sent Howell away to protect him after the youngster witnessed the murder of Caroline Francis by Edward Rodney in the Red Hills area.<sup>7</sup> However, Monty Howell, the eldest of Leonard Howell's children,

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<sup>7</sup> The details about who was murdered, who did the murder, and the date are mine. See, Commutation of Capital Sentence, Reports in case of Edward Rodney for murder. Encloses copy Report of trial, notes, etc., Kings House, Jamaica, 14 December 1915, Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town, Colonial Secreatry's Office (CSO) 57554, p. 80. See also Lee 2003:15.

has informed me that his father left Jamaica because both his parents, not only his father, felt that this was the best move after he had seen the murder.<sup>8</sup> This was a heinous act, and a condemnation of the colonial society of Jamaica, where law and order were supposed to prevail, and where young people, black, colored, white, or otherwise, should have been protected from such an event. Even for a mother, it was better to send her teenage son away than to have him live in this society. Howell's leaving was the beginning of his contempt for colonial Jamaica, which would only deepen and remain with him for life.

He later claimed that he ended up in Colón, Panama, which is quite possibly true, in light of the fact that this country, and particularly the sea port of Colón whose coast is on the Caribbean Sea, was the area that received around 31,041 Caribbean migrants, who went there in search of work as artisans and laborers, between 1904 and 1914 (O'Reggio 2006:41). The conditions in the area of Colón were harder than these migrants had expected. Many contracted diseases and many died, especially from malaria, yellow fever, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Some were injured on the job, or died from job-related accidents, but because of wages which were as high as US \$2.00 per day if unskilled, and US \$5.00 if they were skilled workers, they continued to flock the area looking for work (James 1998:27). Howell said that he was among them but for 'only a short while' and survived the experience. He 'claimed' that he had "joined the Jamaican war contingent," and after which he was employed 'on an American merchant ship' owned by "the United Fruit Co." that was bound for "Canada" in 1918 (Hill 1983:28; Chang, O'Brien & Chen 1998:242). The documentation to prove all of this has not been found, but this was a fascinating story from which Howell's leadership benefitted. It gave his Rastafari followers the impression that he was a well-traveled individual, and that his exposure had given him much to teach them.

His arrival in New York's Harlem in 1924 is documented, which had opened a new chapter in his life that would also help to shape his ideas about his African identity. It was while in Harlem that he was in a position to interact closely with Garveyites, and where he joined Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). This period was intellectually

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<sup>8</sup> Author's interview with Monty Howell, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, 11 June 2011.



stimulating for Howell. His arrival coincided with the Harlem Renaissance, the intellectual and cultural rebirth of African America, which had its heyday in the 1920s, shaped in part by the Garvey movement and by black novelists, poets, and musicians (Lee 2003:19-22; Martin 1986:174-75). Fellow Jamaicans Claude McKay and Marcus Garvey were also in Harlem at the time, and these outspoken figures espousing black nationalism may well have influenced Howell. It was during this eight-year period between his arrival in Harlem and return to Jamaica that Howell developed ideas about self-reliance within black communities. He became a construction worker, but then went into business and opened what Hill describes as a “tea room” “at 113 W. 136th Street in Harlem,” where he sold his Jamaican folk medicines (Hill 1983:30). Howell seems to have operated this tea room as a drugstore, where the medicines were sold as teas.<sup>9</sup>

Hill has also mentioned that Howell was influenced by books about black consciousness, which were published during the 1920s. One was published in New Jersey in the same year that Howell arrived in Harlem, the *Holy Piby*, or the *Black Man's Bible*, whose author was Shepherd Robert Athlyi Rogers, an Anguillan (Rogers 2000). Another that Hill mentions is *The Royal Parchment Scroll of Black Supremacy*, written by Rev. Fitz Balintine Pettersburgh, a Jamaican, and which was published in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1926 (Pettersburgh 2003). Howell integrated elements of these works into *The Promised Key*, but it is not fair to call this plagiarism, which Hill has done, and which other researchers have since then adopted (Hill 1983:27; Chang, O'Brien & Chen 1998:242). Howell simply made use of knowledge that his black audience might have known, and paid respect to the work of his predecessors by referring to “Black Supremacy,” which Pettersburgh had defined as “Our Triumph over white supremacy, Our SLAVE MASTER” (Howell 1995:4; Pettersburgh 2003:20). Howell had tried to ensure that his Rastafari followers saw the movement as not only a part of the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, but also the legacy left by past freedom fighters, a struggle which had withstood the test of time, and which legitimized the Rastafari doctrine.

Hill's remarks about the Jamaican context into which Howell made his reappearance in 1932 are more useful. The island's black population had been preparing for a revolution, stoked by the black nationalism of

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<sup>9</sup> Author's interview with Sister Hodesh, Ensom City, St. Catherine, Jamaica, 30 July 2011.

Alexander Bedward and the Pan-Africanism of Garvey. Howell benefitted from the activism that was undertaken by both Bedward and Garvey. Bedward had started a branch of the Native Baptist Church in August Town, St. Andrew's parish, in the late nineteenth century, and his following by 1921 had grown to around 30,000 people (Satchell 2009:46-48). He was known for his anticolonial rhetoric, and was confined for the second time to the asylum in Kingston by the colonial government in 1921, and remained there until his death in 1930.<sup>10</sup> The colonial government would adopt the same strategy in its effort to suppress Howell. He, too, was committed to the Kingston asylum in 1938 and in 1960. The Howellites also claim that they believe their leader was sent to the asylum more than twice, but the documentation, again, has proven impossible to find.<sup>11</sup> Symbolically, Bedward's passing had occurred in the same year as the coronation event in Addis Ababa, which marked the ascension of the man whom the Rastafari saw as the messiah, fulfilling biblical prophecy that the son of God would return to save humankind. In other words, Bedward's death, which was a loss, was nonetheless marked by the emergence of a more powerful figure, who was a more compelling source of inspiration and hope for black people.

Garvey had also spoken of the crowning of an Ethiopian king as an event to be seen as a major sign of hope for blacks all over the world, inspiring the African majority of Jamaica to continue to believe in their eventual subversion of white supremacy. Garvey's return to Jamaica in 1927 was followed by the founding of his People's Political Party in 1929, which "had mass support," though the party did not win a seat in the island's elections of that year. However, this was only because its supporters were mainly poor black people, who did not qualify to vote. Undeterred, the branch of the UNIA in Kingston purchased Edelweiss Park at Cross Roads, near to the heart of the city, in 1929, and this "became a center for spiritual upliftment, self-improvement, political indoctrination, and purposeful recreation." Garvey also continued to promote Pan-Africanism through his writing, and his newspapers, the *Blackman* and *New Jamaican*, and his magazine, *Black Man*, kept black Jamaicans aware of issues concerning their liberation from white rule (Sherlock & Bennett 1993:308, 309). Upon his return, Howell was

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<sup>10</sup> The Bedward Episode. *The Gleaner*, 2 May 1921, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Author's interviews with Sister Hodesh, and with Alphanso Gallimore (born 1946), Gerald Lloyd Downer (born 1934), and Florence Stewart (born 1939), Tredegar Park, St. Catherine, Jamaica, 24 April 2011.

therefore able to benefit from preparations made by Garvey, as well as by Bedward.

### The Early Attacks on Howell

Anthony Bogues has established the link between the Rastafari and the radical African tradition, which had roots in Ethiopianism in the United States and the Back-to-Africa movement of the late nineteenth century, and both inspired by Ethiopia's defeat of Italy at Adowa in 1896 (Bogues 2003:154, 165; Gebrekidan 2005:39; Geiss 1974: 26-29). However, the suppression of Rastafari's leading figure began before he started preaching African radicalism, before his promotion of the subversive notion of the divinity of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia. Howell's suppression began on the day after his return to Jamaica in 1932, when the island's biggest newspaper, the *Daily Gleaner*, published a notice of his arrival. This newspaper, to put the event into context, was established in 1834 by Jewish Jamaican brothers, Joshua and Jacob DeCordova (Cundall 1935:32, 63). Their father ran a coffee plantation in St. Catherine's parish, and in the same year as the abolition of slavery, his sons established the island's most widely read chronicle, which would in time provide daily accounts of the new society to be created in the aftermath of African freedom. The *Gleaner* was born at the moment that African freedom became a reality in British Jamaica. Writing later, John Bigelow would observe how greatly even coffee planters like the DeCordovas had suffered because of African freedom. Bigelow had reported in 1851 that the abolition of slavery had thrown 'out of cultivation over 200,000 acres' which were cultivated with coffee, and this meant in excess of 500 plantations "which, in 1832, required the labour of over 30,000 men"—enslaved people (Bigelow 1851:55). The DeCordovas remained at the helm of the *Gleaner* until long after Howell's return to Jamaica. Michael DeCordova was the last one to occupy the post of "managing director," which he demitted in 1948.<sup>12</sup>

Howell had returned on 17 November 1932 on a steamer, the *Sixaola*, which had sailed from New York to Kingston. The next day, the notice in the *Gleaner* claimed that Howell had been living in the United States

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<sup>12</sup> Rebecca Tortello, Printing in Jamaica. *A Jamaica Gleaner Feature*, 2 August 2004, <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/pages/history/story0066.html> (accessed 17 December 2012).

illegally and was deported for overstaying his “time,” implying that he was a suspicious character and the colonial government should keep an eye on him.<sup>13</sup> At this point, his leadership of the Rastafari movement had not yet begun, but Howell was a good target for the *Gleaner* because he was a black man who possibly had broken the law in the United States, and was therefore expected to commit other crimes in Jamaica, his birthplace. The notice didn’t mention Garvey, though he returned under similar circumstances in 1927. In fact, none of the links that Howell had with the Garvey movement was mentioned, and perhaps this was due to the lack of information, but which for a newspaper, also meant the lack of interest. In any case, Howell, in due course, exposed the fact that he was the victim of stereotyping by the press, that the story in the *Gleaner* was a fabrication, that he was not deported because he was a degenerate or a career criminal. In almost no time, Howell became the founder of a religious movement, and one with strong social, political, and economic commitments. In fact, his leadership of the Rastafari movement would also be used by the press to embark upon a more aggressive campaign to suppress him, which began after his transformation into a leader of Jamaica’s black people. This same leadership role into which Howell had put himself was also responsible for the investigation that the police conducted into his past in 1936, an inquiry that uncovered that he had returned to Jamaica in exchange for his release from prison, but that he had been convicted of grand larceny, which had served as a way to undermine his career as a businessman, and had spent eighteen months in jail out of a sentence that was longer, based on the kind of charge that he had faced in court.<sup>14</sup> Where he was jailed was not revealed in the police report, but more than likely, he was imprisoned somewhere in or close to New York City, where he was living, running his tea room, and where he had embarked for Jamaica in November 1932. The point is also that by the time the Jamaican constabulary force came around to investigating Howell’s past, he was already in jail on the island for “sedition” along with his assistant, Robert Hinds.

This conviction came two years into Howell’s leadership of the Rastafari movement. In essence, what Howell did, which landed him in jail for

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<sup>13</sup> Sixaola in Yesterday from New York with Mails and Passengers. *Daily Gleaner*, 18 November 1932, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> Acting Inspector General to Private Secretary, CSO, 18 July 1936, Pinnacle Papers (PP), Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town, CSO, 5073/34.

two years at hard labor, and Hinds for one year, also at hard labor, was the crime of encouraging black people in Jamaica to pledge allegiance not to the colonial government or to imperial Britain, but to the Ethiopian emperor; and during this trial, it was reported to judge Chief Justice Robert William Lyall-Grant that Howell had been “abusing the King and the Queen, Queen Victoria, in fact everybody.”<sup>15</sup> Howell’s sentencing had taken place on 15 March 1934, and since he was the main target of the attempted suppression by the colonial government, its police, and its courts, he was given the harsher of the two sentences handed down by Lyall-Grant: two years, instead of the one year given to Hinds, who was a secondary target, seen as having been influenced by Leonard Howell.

The Howellites have insisted that their leader was not a thief. They acknowledge that he was charged for grand larceny, but insist that this was due to the fact that he was selling folk medicines from his tea room in Harlem without the required license. He was arrested, they claim, because of his subversion of the pharmaceutical establishment in the United States.<sup>16</sup> Although there does not appear to be any documentation to support the Howellites’ claim, we do have Hill’s discovery that Howell did, in fact, open a tea room in Harlem, and it was from here, his followers claimed, that he sold the folk medicines. We also know, based on Hill’s findings, that Howell did not overstay his time in the United States, which again negates the *Gleaner*’s claim that he was deported for this reason. Hill has stated that Howell had taken “out his first papers for citizenship in the United States in May 1924” (Hill 1983:30). In other words, Howell had started the process to regularize his immigration status in the United States in the very same year of his arrival in that country, and even though imprisonment would have put a stop to such an application, this becomes a consideration only if we accept that a prolonged period of seven or even six years in the 1920s was the time that it took for immigrants to gain citizenship in the United States, which was not the usual practice (Jiménez 2011:18-19). Immigration problems could not have been the reason for Howell’s return to Jamaica in 1932.

It was Howell’s street meetings which had sparked the reconnaissance by the colonial police force in Jamaica, in order to gather the information

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<sup>15</sup> Leonard Howell being Tried for Sedition in Saint Thomas. *Daily Gleaner*, 14 March 1934, p. 21.

<sup>16</sup> Author’s interview with Alphonso Gallimore (born 1946), Gerald Lloyd Downer (born 1934), and Florence Stewart (born 1939).

that was used in his conviction for sedition in 1934. Howell began holding these meetings in Kingston and St. Andrew between December 1932 and February 1933. Evidently, he realized that the police had him on their radar, and decided that he should change the locations of his meetings to the eastern parish of St. Thomas. He began holding these meetings in the parish capital of Morant Bay, but also in Port Morant, Seaforth, Trinity Ville, and Font Hill. Why he chose to relocate to St. Thomas is not difficult to explain; this was the parish in which the famous Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865 had erupted. The leader of this rebellion was also a black preacher, Paul Bogle, a deacon of the Native Baptist Church, the same church that later came under the influence of Bedward, who had helped to create the context in which Howell could start his movement, shortly after returning to Jamaica. Bogle, like Howell, was a leading figure in a religious organization that had started in Jamaica among poor black people. Like Howell's Rastafari movement, the Native Baptist Church also used the Bible, but unlike Bogle, Howell saw the promised return of the messiah as fulfilled in the rise of the crowned prince of Ethiopia, Ras Tafari, as Emperor Haile Selassie I. Like Bogle, Howell adopted the idea that religion should be used for earthly liberation, a notion known as liberation theology, and which was based on a new translation of biblical hermeneutics, which located the purpose of religion in the experiences of the worshippers. For these Christians, religion was not for worship and fellowship alone; it was also and more importantly, the divinely approved engine of social, economic, and political growth; it was the will of God in action (Dick 2009:167-201).

The police and the colonial government were the ones to react to Howell's decision to relocate his meetings to St. Thomas. The police had followed him there to gather more information about his activities, and then brought him to court for sedition on the basis on this information. The trial, which was held in Morant Bay, the capital of the parish where Howell had been holding most of his meetings, showed that everything about this trial was about Howell—about his preaching, organizing, and leadership role in the Rastafari movement. The crime that he was charged with warranted a trial at the high court in the island's capital of Kingston, but the government sent Lyall-Grant to St. Thomas, where Howell had relocated, where most of his meetings were now being held. A trial in that parish sent a clear message that Howell was the government's target, and to dispose of the case effectively, Lyall-Grant was sent to preside over the trial. Not only was he the chief justice of Jamaica, he was also an experienced high court judge,

who had presided over the trials of other blacks who had committed acts against British rule—acts seen as sedition, or treason. The freedom fighters of Nyasaland, the British protectorate of Central Africa, were tried by Lyall-Grant following the 1915 rebellion that was led by Rev. John Chilembwe, who also founded the Providence Industrial Mission, a church that had been active in struggles against the British in Africa (McCracken 2012:127). Lyall-Grant served as “Judge of the High Court” in Nyasaland before coming to Jamaica (Shepperson & Price 1958:267, 381). The decision to use him at Howell’s trial was not difficult, and he made more than adequate use of the opportunity, registering the government’s disapproval of Howell’s activities by concluding the trial within a week. Swiftiness was part of the government’s plan of action, one carefully thought out in order to deflate Howell’s importance, and Lyall-Grant made sure to avoid a long trial, which might galvanize support for Howell. Another strategy was Lyall-Grant’s denouncement of Howell as a “fraud,” which the chief justice could do because of his own time in Africa, and which he also referred to while handing down the sentences for Howell and Hinds.<sup>17</sup>

Howell had started selling “postcards” for £1 each with the image of Selassie I as “passports” or as tickets into Ethiopia (Hill 1983:33; Murrell 1998:7). This act was used against him at the trial, allowing the chief justice to claim that Howell was a “fraud,” and it gave the colonial court another justification for Howell’s suppression, since there was no record of him ever being appointed as an emissary of the Ethiopian monarchy in Jamaica. And earlier during the trial, when the evidence was being heard, the reports collected by the police advised that Howell had been promoting himself to the point where he was seen as a prophet, a healer, and a redeemer of poor black people, information which was in a song that the police had heard Howell’s people singing at one of his meetings:

Leonard Howell seeks me and he finds me,  
Fills my heart with glee;  
That’s why I am happy all the day,  
For I know what Leonard Howell is doing for my soul,  
That’s why I am happy all the day.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Chief Justice Denounces Howell as a Fraud. *Daily Gleaner*, 17 March 1934, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Leonard Howell, on Trial says Ras Tafari is Messiah Returned to Earth. *Daily Gleaner*, 15 March 1934, p. 20.



### No Need for Serious Regard

The only outcome that the colonial government intended when Howell was put on trial for sedition was his suppression, but almost no mention was made in the charges brought against him of the Rastafari movement that he had started. The focus was on statements that he made in his speeches at his street meetings, which were said to have been seditious. Hinds accompanied him to prison, but only because he had participated in spreading Howell's message of disloyalty to the colonial government and imperial Britain. The unintended outcome of the trial was the revelation, based on the after the trial inquiries by the police in 1936, that Howell's followers had "lost confidence in him" as a result of his imprisonment, and that "a split in the Organization" had become apparent. The conclusion of the police was that the "Movement has lost very considerably in number and influence, and at the present need not be seriously regarded."<sup>19</sup> As far as the police and colonial government were concerned, the Rastafari movement was dying rather than gaining strength, due to Howell's incarceration back in 1934.

However, Howell's opponents outside of the government decided not to share the official view. Reporters at the *Gleaner*, for example, felt that Howell had done more than enough to create a viable "cult," meaning one of those "deviant social movements" whose beliefs and practices posed a threat to the social order, and the peace and safety of society (Stark & Bainbridge 1980:1377). An onslaught of articles in the *Gleaner* followed, alleging disturbances caused by the Rastafari people and sensationalizing the growing movement while deriding it as a cult. Even from behind the prison bars, the *Gleaner's* reporters concluded, Howell was still a menace to society, and his influence was growing. He was blamed for the "Harm Rastafari Advocates [were] doing in [the] East Parish," and the "St. Thomas Wars on the Ras Tafari Cult."<sup>20</sup>

Members of the public had also joined the calls for Howell's suppression from even before he was sentenced for sedition. They knew of no one else

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<sup>19</sup> Acting Inspector General to Private Secretary, CSO, 18 July 1936.

<sup>20</sup> The following is a sample of the headlines of the articles about the Rastafari that appeared in the *Gleaner* between 1934 and 1937: Deluded Creatures. *Daily Gleaner*, 9 July 1934, p. 12; Disturbances by Followers of the Rastafari Cult. *Daily Gleaner*, 20 July 1934, p. 6; Harm Rastafari Advocates are doing in Eastern Parish. *Daily Gleaner*, 23 May 1935, p. 1; St. Thomas Wars on the Ras Tafari Cult. *Daily Gleaner*, 18 January 1937, p. 28; and Dangerous Cults. *Daily Gleaner*, 19 January 1937, p. 9.

in the movement who could be blamed for its sudden appearance and its apparent growth. It was perceived by ordinary citizens such as Maud Wray, a woman from St. Thomas, that Howell was responsible for infecting other people in Jamaica with the strange ideas of his Rastafari cult, which happened because they had been listening to Howell's speeches. To express her dislike for Howell, Miss Wray had given two policemen, Constable Enos Gayle and Corporal Ebenezer Brooks, access to her "drawing room," so that they could overlook one of Howell's meetings in St. Thomas, and take careful notes of what he had been telling the people.<sup>21</sup> This evidence was presented at Howell's trial for sedition. The policemen also told the chief justice that they had attended Howell's meetings "in consequence of information" that they "received" from members of the public, whom they preferred not to name.<sup>22</sup> Most of the time, the members of the public who supplied the police with the information that led to Howell's arrest for sedition were not named or identified in any other way. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether the majority of these informants were white, colored, or black people. Miss Wray was apparently the only name ever mentioned during the trial, and some of what was said about her suggests that she was a person of some means. She lived in a house with a drawing room, implying that she was at the very least from the lower middle class, but she could have been black, white, or colored, and at this late period, the latter could include even people who were partly of Indian or Chinese descent.

In addition to Miss Wray, another complainant who was identified, but not at Howell's trial, was an off-duty district constable from Seaforth, Robert Powers, who was almost surely not white and who, based on his occupation, belonged to the lower middle class. Powers was the self-appointed leader of a small gang comprised of his nephew and their friends, which in August 1934, had assaulted a woman, Delrosa Francis, who they had identified as a member of Howell's Rastafari following.<sup>23</sup> It is important to note that Powers acted without any orders. He served summonses on Francis and her witnesses for disturbance of the peace, as well as for assaulting a

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<sup>21</sup> Leonard Howell, on Trial says Ras Tafari is Messiah Returned to Earth. *Daily Gleaner*, 15 March 1934, p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Leonard Howell Being Tried for Sedition in Saint Thomas. *Daily Gleaner*, 14 March 1934, p. 21.

<sup>23</sup> Petitions of Daniel Price, Gertrude Nathan, Francella McNish, James Findley, and Delrosa Francis, Seaforth P.O., St. Thomas, 1 September 1934, PP, CSO 5073/34.

policeman, in the case of Francis. The resident magistrate who presided at the trial felt compelled to support the district constable, whose actions were potentially bad publicity for the constabulary, as well as the colonial government. The magistrate decided to postpone the trial from 8 August until 22 August, and then reconvened “downstairs” in the courthouse. In other words, the trial was disposed of quietly.<sup>24</sup> C.C. Woolley, the colonial secretary, was approached by Francis and her witnesses after they were sentenced to pay fines, or to serve time in the general penitentiary, which was not in the parish. Writing to Woolley, Francis and her witnesses cited their wish for “fair justice,” but Woolley’s response was that taking the matter to “the appeal Court” would prove futile.<sup>25</sup>

Two letters sent in 1936 delivered the same message that the public had reached its tipping point, and was ready to take matters into their own hands to permanently put to rest the problem of Leonard Howell, since the government seemed unable or unwilling to take further action. What was most upsetting to one of the writers of these letters, who chose to be anonymous, and who wrote to the colonial officials in London believing that the government of Jamaica was not able or willing to take a decisive stance against Howell, was that “The Ethiopian menace,” as the writer called Howell’s movement, had disturbed the peace and safety of the “White and high coloured folk” of Jamaica. This implied the writer’s ethnicity or cultural attachments, if not his or her race, and this writer added that the reason why whites and high coloreds were upset was that Howell had encouraged his people “not” to see themselves as “subjects of Great Britain,” which also implied that the writer felt attached to Britain, and was more than likely white or high colored himself or herself.<sup>26</sup>

The other letter writer, V.R. Cameron, had no reservations about stating his name for the record, even adding that he was a pastor from Font Hill,

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<sup>24</sup> Petitions of Daniel Price, Gertrude Nathan, Francella McNish, James Findley, and Delrosa Francis, Seaforth P.O., St. Thomas, 1 September 1934, PP, CSO 5073/34; Petitions of A.B. Gordon and Amelia Gordon, and Rachel Patterson, Seaforth P.O., St. Thomas, 3 September 1934, PP, CSO 5073/34.

<sup>25</sup> Acting Colonial Secretary to Delrosa Francis, Rachel Patterson, and Francella McNish, 14 September 1934, PP, CSO 5073/34; Acting Colonial Secretary to Daniel Price, Gertrude Nathan, Augustus Gordon, and James Findley, 14 September 1934, PP, CSO 5073/34.

<sup>26</sup> Anonymous letter, Kingston, Jamaica, to Sir John Maffey, London, 7 April 1936, PP, CSO 68512/30/36, pp. 1, 3.

St. Thomas, one of the areas in that parish where Howell had been active. Cameron addressed his letter to the governor, Edward Denham, and advised him of the injustices which Howell's followers in Font Hill had been facing, due to the actions of "a certain Baptist Minister who was once pastor of their[s]," but who "got against them and told the Leader of this group that he will use his influence to see that this group['s] movement is brought to nothing."<sup>27</sup> Denham sent the letter to Woolley for investigation, and the latter brought in Commissioner Wright to order an inquiry by the police, but it was Cameron who was investigated, not the claims that he had made in his letter, and based on these findings, Cameron was denounced as a troublemaker and an imposter, someone who was "not a recognized minister of any church."<sup>28</sup> The official response to Cameron from the colonial secretary's office told him 'that after inquiry the Government is not prepared to interfere in the matter.'<sup>29</sup> The government was able to use these findings not to take any more action against Howell, at least for the time being, and since Cameron, in his letter, had implied something that was worrying, that Howell was competing with preachers from the traditional churches for followers, and apparently, he was seeing success, which was now causing even a Baptist minister to become concerned. The Baptist Church had a long history of aiding blacks in Jamaica, and was very active in the struggles against slavery, which partly implied that Howell had enough charisma as a preacher to attract followers from even this Church, and partly because he had created a doctrine that was sufficiently powerful and enticing.

One of the stimulants for the complaints in these letters was *The Promised Key*, which was published in the year before the letters were sent, and had enough to further infuriate Howell's opponents, but also a sufficient amount of anticolonial and racial rhetoric that could make Howell's movement more attractive to Jamaica's poor black people. The book denounced the Roman Catholic "Pope" as "satan the devil," and as head of "a hypocritical religious system." These statements made Howell seem fearless, and perhaps among the most fearless of the warriors who had been fighting for

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<sup>27</sup> V.R. Cameron, Font Hill, Trinity Ville, P.O., to Sir Edward Denham, 19 May 1936, PP, CSO 5073/34, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup> V.R. Cameron, Font Hill, Trinity Ville, P.O., to Sir Edward Denham, 19 May 1936, PP, CSO 5073/34, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Acting Colonial Secretary to Elder V.R. Cameron, 30 June 1936, PP, CSO 5073/34.

the rights of black people in Jamaica, which included Bogle, Bedward, and Garvey—leaders who were also themselves celebrated by the black majority. Howell was even bold enough to castigate the practitioners of the folk tradition known as Obeah, who were feared by most people. Howell warned that there would be “No admittance for obeah dogs” in the “Balm Yard,” Rastafari’s house of worship (Howell 1995:12, 13, 4). To his followers, Howell was not afraid to make enemies, not afraid to do what he thought was necessary to grow his movement. His opponents, on the other hand, became even more anxious about his leadership, and expressed more eagerness to suppress him.

### **The Police Raids in 1941 and 1954**

By the time that any leading figure in the labor movement of the 1930s began to voice objections to the Rastafari movement, Howell’s popularity among the peasantry had grown to such an extent that in 1940, he could establish the community of Pinnacle, which had 700 residents.<sup>30</sup> Howell had also reached the point where he felt enough confidence in the strength of his movement to take on the labor leadership, calling this a failure because it had not addressed the problem of race, which was obvious to him because of the fact that most of the island’s poor people were black, and because the most prominent labor leaders by the late 1930s were not black.<sup>31</sup> Alexander Bustamante, a brown-skinned, middle-class Jamaican, had become the most visible labor leader as a result of the 1938 labor protests. He formed a union in that same year, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union, to which he gave his name, and appointed himself as its president-general. It was the strongest union in the island, and the one that Howell criticized at a meeting he held in Port Morant on 25 June 1939.<sup>32</sup> By 6 July of the same year, just twelve days later, Bustamante wrote a strong letter addressed to Woolley. In this letter, Bustamante called upon the colonial government to either imprison Howell again, or send him back to the lunatic asylum in order to silence him, and gave this as his justifications: “serious trouble is brewing at

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<sup>30</sup> The Ras Tafari Retreat to Mountain Fastness of St. Catherine. *Daily Gleaner*, 23 November 1940, page unknown.

<sup>31</sup> Acting Inspector General Sidley to the Colonial Secretary, 1939, PP, CSO 1130, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Acting Inspector General Sidley to the Colonial Secretary, 1939, PP, CSO 1130, p. 9.

Port Morant, in St. Thomas, owing to the mischievousness of a man whose name is Howell, Leader of this terrible thing that is called 'Rastafari'."<sup>33</sup>

Bustamante had benefitted from the invitation by A.G.S. Coombs to join his Jamaica Workers and Tradesmen Union in 1937. Hartley Neita has recorded how Bustamante had to be "persuaded" by Coombs, who was a "militant Garveyite," according to Arnold Bertram, to join the union (Neita 2005:29; Bertram 2006:Q4). However, in time, Bustamante also publicly turned his back on the ideology of black nationalism, which was embraced by earlier labor leaders, such as Coombs. Instead, Bustamante chose to pursue the improvement of the working class and the decolonization of Jamaica through the British parliamentary system, and adopted the leadership style of "charismatic authoritarianism," which made it impossible for him to view Leonard Howell as a fellow leader, or as someone who had a legitimate claim to be one of the leaders of any portion of the Jamaican population. For Bustamante, Howell was incapable of leadership because he did not subscribe to the established "order" or traditional leadership models, he had no regard for the "rules" or for "hierarchy," and he had no "technical qualifications" to justify having a place in leadership (Bolland 2001:517).

Almost the same position was taken by the press, which reported that Howell ruled his Pinnacle community like a tyrant, but what was almost never reported was that the community was under attack by intruders, or by other poor people who joined to steal from the residents, as well as from inhabitants of the surrounding communities.<sup>34</sup> Howell became more concerned about security only after these intruders were discovered. He would put them on trial like a judge, and ordered floggings and expulsions from the community. However, the message these actions sent to Howell's opponents only intensified their anxiousness to see him either jailed again, or confined to the asylum for another period. The measures Howell took were never mentioned as security procedures. Almost nothing was printed in the press, which stated that the Pinnacle community was itself under attack. Instead, Howell's methods were presented as evidence of extremism, and the kind that only an unstable mind would adopt, and further proof that

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<sup>33</sup> A. Bustamante, Duke Street, Kingston, Jamaica, to the Colonial Secretary, 6 July 1939, PP, CSO 1B/5/79/735.

<sup>34</sup> Van Dijk 1995:73; The Ras Tafariites Retreat. *Daily Gleaner*, 23 November 1940, page unknown.

the Rastafari movement was lunacy. For example, one of the representatives of the press, R.A. Leevy, a writer for the leftist newspaper, *Public Opinion*—which had close ties to Norman Manley's People's National Party and National Workers' Union, established in 1938 and 1943, respectively—wrote a lengthy four-part article that was published in the newspaper in 1943. These articles were based on an interview that Leevy did with Howell in 1939 or 1940 (Moyston 2011), and in the articles, Leevy wrote of telling Howell that “millions, including myself, are still disbelievers—firm, iron-clad disbelievers in Rastafarianism,” which was a statement of fact, but one that Leevy presented to suggest that Howell's movement promoted an idea that many people, including Leevy, considered as insanity—the belief that Selassie I was the son of God.<sup>35</sup>

By the time that these articles were published, Howell had already started Pinnacle, which was labeled a “communist” experiment by a reporter for the *Gleaner*.<sup>36</sup> The Jamaica in which this reporter's comment was published was far from an appreciative context for the communist ideology. Britain had just entered World War II in response to Germany's 1939 invasion of Poland, a context that made communism appear as an even more alien and extreme ideology to Jamaicans, who were British subjects, and who lived in one of Britain's most important colonies. While there might have been tolerance for Norman Manley's Fabianism, because of the British origin of this ideology, communism, which was viewed as more extreme, was a completely different matter (Levi 1989:151; McBriar 1962). The mother country could not afford to fight a major war against Germany and Italy, and then Japan, while at the same time battle the “communist” movement for independence in its Jamaican colony. As for Leevy's articles, these had also appeared in print after Howell's Pinnacle community was raided by the police on 14 July 1941, and Howell had been sentenced to another two years at hard labor for assault. The articles that Leevy wrote represented an outrage against Howell and his encampment at Pinnacle, developments which continued to raise concerns in spite of the police raid and the sentencing of Howell, and along with 27 of his followers.

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<sup>35</sup> R.A. Leevy, Ras Tafarianism. *Public Opinion*, 13 March 1943, p. 3. The previous three parts were published on 13 February 1943, p. 3; 20 February 1943, p. 3; and 27 February 1943, p. 3. All four parts were given the same title.

<sup>36</sup> The Ras Tafari Retreat. *Daily Gleaner*, 23 November 1940, page unknown.



The build up to the raid started with Howell's announcement in 1939 of his "intention to build a tabernacle for the purpose of divine worship and for schooling members' children." The *Gleaner* had publicized the announcement in its 27 December edition, only days after Howell made the announcement.<sup>37</sup> In the month before the raid, another newspaper, the *Jamaica Times*, published a story linking the people at Pinnacle to the assaults and thefts reported in Spanish Town, capital of St. Catherine, the home parish of Pinnacle. It was obvious that this article was another fabrication. A man who was robbed of his bags of coal was interviewed by the reporter, and he had said that his assailant told him this: "Mi a no pinnacle man . . . Mi no know notin' bout them." The reporter, nonetheless, concluded that the assailant had "the qualifications of a Ras Tafari," which meant that he looked unkempt.<sup>38</sup> It was well known that Howell promoted cleanliness among his people, and that he himself was almost never seen without his three-piece suit, and he kept his hair short, and had only a moustache. It was two days after this article in The *Jamaica Times* was published that the police raided Pinnacle for the first time.

The police contingent that went on this raid was comprised of 115 personnel, half of them armed, and their target was Howell. The police had used James Nelson, a man wanted for breaches of the firearms law, who was allegedly living at Pinnacle under Howell's protection, to justify the raid. Back in June of 1941, Nelson had written to the police in Spanish Town informing them that he could "be found at Pinnacle," where he was in possession of "ammunitions."<sup>39</sup> The address on this letter stated the post office in St. Thomas, which the police ignored. The fabrication became more obvious when Nelson was not found at Pinnacle on the day of the raid, or any time after that. Howell was not found at Pinnacle either, but was taken into custody eleven days later, when the police returned to the community during the night, and found him at home in bed. An even clearer piece of evidence that this was a fabricated campaign to suppress Howell by sending him to jail for another period was the way that the police gathered the witnesses, who gave the testimonies used to convict Howell and 27 of his

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<sup>37</sup> Port Morant notes (from our correspondent). *Daily Gleaner*, 27 December 1939, p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> Victims tell of Ras Tafari's Reign of Terror in St. Catherine. *Jamaica Times*, 12 July 1941, page unknown.

<sup>39</sup> James Nelson to the Sergeant Major, Spanish Town Police Station, 14 June 1941, PP, CSO 5073/34 Copy.

people. It was during the raid, and after not finding Howell or Nelson, that the police sent for residents from the neighboring communities of Simon, Cross Pen, and Spanish Hole “to identify the assailants” who were convicted of assault.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the police were able to collect these testimonies used at the trial without any apparent resistance from the people living in the surrounding communities, which housed mostly peasants. Howell could not escape conviction on the basis of this evidence; he was well-known as the leader of Pinnacle.

Van Dijk has argued that the second police raid on Pinnacle, which took place on 22 May 1954, occurred during a period when there was hardly any “Rastafari agitation” (Van Dijk 1995:74). By this, he meant that there was little confrontation with the colonial authorities, or with any other group in the society for that matter. But was this really possible at any point during Howell’s leadership of the Rastafari movement? Pinnacle itself stood as a form of nonviolent agitation, that is, if we can appreciate that it was more than an encampment, but also a manifestation of Howell’s ideas regarding self-government and self-reliance for black people. Hoenisch has made this point clearer by referring to Pinnacle as a place where “a ‘microphysics’ of power was developed which organized the members of the commune under black control” (Hoenisch 1988:446). Pinnacle even survived the two additional years that Howell spent in prison after the raid in 1941, and its establishment close to Sligoville—the first free village, formed by ex-slaves in 1834—indicated that the community was Howell’s route to symbolic continuation of the fight for African freedom in colonial Jamaica. The self-reliance had itself served as one of the enticements for people who joined the community. Members received plots on which they built houses made of wood with thatched roofs, and on which they cultivated food crops for subsistence and sales. They also made household items, such as mats and brooms, and they burned coal for use in the community, and to sell in the markets in Spanish Town and downtown Kingston. Howell also started a bakery, which brought in cash. Pinnacle was similar to a Maroon village in that it was self-governed. There was a communal dining room, and a place where everyone went to worship.

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<sup>40</sup> Commissioner of Police Wright to the Colonial Secretary, 17 July 1944, PP, CSO 5073/34 Minutes, p. 5; Victims tell of Ras Tafarians’ Reign of Terror. *Jamaica Times*, 12 July 1941, page unknown.

If there was no agitation, no form of confrontation, then why would the newspaper, *Public Opinion*, publish Leevy's articles on the subjects of Howell and his movement in 1943? The interview for these articles was done from either 1939 or 1940. Constitutional change was also pending, and took place in the year following the publication of Leevy's articles. The island was at a critical juncture in its political history and in its nationalism, yet Howell and his people were still receiving attention in the press. Leevy's remarks in his articles that most people were still disbelievers in the divinity of Selassie I implied concern over the doctrine as much as disagreement with it. Furthermore, Howell was still in prison for assault when Leevy's articles were published, but he was still a subject of concern in the press. Why would the police also insist in the following year, after Howell was released from jail, that he should also be treated as a suspect in the death of his wife, Tyneth, née Bent, when no evidence implicating him in her death had been found? To say that this had nothing to do with agitation or an ongoing confrontation with the opponents of Howell's movement is to contradict available documentation. The attorney general, who was called in to investigate if Howell could be locked up again, this time for murder, did see the necessity for an investigation, but the conclusion that he reached, which he expressed with regret, was that he had "no alternative but to enter a nolle."<sup>41</sup>

Lee's perspective, which is similar to Van Dijk's, is also problematical. She states that the advice from the attorney general and the police, after Howell's release from prison in 1943, suggests that there was unwillingness on the part of officialdom to take any further action on the matter of Howell's suppression, at least until the second raid in 1954. Among her main reasons for this view are the 1938 labour protests and the constitutional change of 1944, both of which had occupied the attention of the government (Lee 2003:161). However, it is not likely that the government would have been less concerned about Howell in the midst of public unrest, or while facing political transformation. It was Howell who had started a movement that was also comprised of poor and suffering people. Also true is that the first raid on Pinnacle had taken place only three years after the labor protests, which indicates that there was still anxiety within government about Howell and his movement, to which the Parish Board of St. Catherine contributed greatly with its reports of unhygienic conditions at

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<sup>41</sup> Attorney General to the Colonial Secretary, 4 April 1944, PP, CSO 5073/34, Minutes, 18.

Pinnacle between November 1940 and January 1941, which had possibly caused the illness of some seventeen or eighteen people who had entered the Poor House in the parish, one of whom, according to a subsequent report, had died.<sup>42</sup> In March 1941, this same board even investigated if it was possible to undermine Howell by seizing the assets of his Ethiopian Salvation Society, a friendly society established in 1937, which the board believed had provided at least some of the funds Howell had used in the arrangement to purchase Pinnacle from the Chinese businessman, Albert Chang.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, there was a letter that Howell had sent to London in March 1939, addressed to the well-known Marxist, George Padmore, and which contained a small £5 donation to the International African Services Bureau, which had introduced Howell's name to the British government, and suggested that Howell was, from that year, thinking about expanding his movement beyond Jamaica, and possibly also thinking about linking the Rastafari to the Marxist ideology, to at least gain support from Marxist intellectuals, as well as from its other activists. The fact that this letter was intercepted was evidence of concern about Howell, not only Padmore, and the British government therefore sent a copy of the letter to the government of Jamaica for its further consideration.<sup>44</sup>

In addition, between the 1944 constitutional change and the second raid in 1954, the chief minister of Jamaica was one of Howell's archrivals, Alexander Bustamante. This second raid was delayed for more than a decade simply because the government of Jamaica needed a final solution for Howell, one that was permanent. The search for this final solution began from the moment that Howell was released from jail following his imprisonment after the 1941 raid, around the middle of 1943. Aiding the government was also the fact that World War II and its distractions had ended in 1945, and in just three years, the final solution was found in the form of the marijuana ban, introduced by an amendment to the Dangerous Drugs Act in 1948 (Haughton 2011:48). The House of Representatives,

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<sup>42</sup> Copy of Reports, MOH, PP, CSO 5073/34, pp. 1, 2; Sergeant W.J. Gyles to the Clerk, Parochial Board of St. Catherine, 28 March 1941, PP, CSO 5073/34 Copy 847.

<sup>43</sup> R.D.G. Lewars, Clerk, Parochial Board of St. Catherine, to the Assistant Director of Medical Services, 30 April 1941, PP, CSO 5073/34.

<sup>44</sup> L.P. Howell, President, Ethiopian Salvation Society, 76 King Street, Kingston, Jamaica, to George Padmore, 12A Westborne Grove, London W 2, England, 12 March 1939, PP, CSO 1B/5/79/735, C74U.

populated by the labor leadership, supported this amendment. It appears that everybody opposed to Howell supported this solution, and before the second raid, Howell said during a trial for marijuana possession at the Sutton Street Court in Kingston, where Justice C.D. Fritchett was presiding, that he had up to “five previous convictions” for marijuana possession. Fritchett was unsympathetic and sentenced Howell to twelve months in prison in 1951 for the possession of marijuana.<sup>45</sup>

Lee makes another problematic suggestion, which implies that the second raid was a more spectacular event than the first one, and to support this view she cites the massive deployment:

In all they numbered five supervisors, five detectives, 116 policemen, and a number of technical assistants. They had been thoroughly briefed and equipped with rifles, tear gas, riot batons, walkie-talkies, two car radios, and HF radio units, supported by a mobile water tank and canteen. (Lee 2003:190)

Lee adds the 110 guilty verdicts, which were handed down by the court for the possession of marijuana, and which the police had transported from Pinnacle to the courtroom as part of the spectacle (Lee 2003:191). There was indeed a spectacle, but this was neither the deployment for the raid nor the way that the trial was conducted. The deployment was the means to the real end, and so was the trial, and the real spectacle was that Howell was found guilty, but was then released upon appeal, but a total of 110 of his people found themselves in a less fortunate situation (Van Dijk 1995:74; Smith, Augier & Nettleford 1988:9). This was the way that the government which was now partly colonial and partly nationalist went about making sure that the final solution worked. The plan was to strip Howell of his influence by jailing his people, and even though he was released upon appeal, he was still the main target. His leadership was the main concern and the police personnel, the equipment that they brought with them, the marijuana that they seized and presented in the court, as well as the convictions of his people, were all part of making sure that Howell had no one left to lead. His movement had continued in spite of previous incarcerations, and even his confinement as a lunatic. Stripping him of the people he led, or at least a

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<sup>45</sup> Leonard Howell, Two Others Sent to Prison on Ganja Charge. *Daily Gleaner*, 2 March 1951, p. 4.

good proportion of this following, was now seen as the only way to ensure that he was taken out of the national spotlight.

## **Conclusion**

Leonard Howell was the most victimized of the early Rastafari leaders due to his advocacy of the movement's doctrine. As one of the most visible early leaders who preached the divinity of Haile Selassie I, Howell may well be described as the very first Rasta. But in becoming the first Rasta, he needed to acquire a following, and it was this work of building the movement, a task that he started within months of his return to Jamaica from the United States in 1932, that, in time, would also make him the main target of the effort to suppress the Rastafari movement. No one who opposed the movement in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s held this position without having some sense of the work of Leonard Howell, some understanding, however limited this might have been, of his advocacy of the Rastafari doctrine.

The first major triumph of the suppression campaign was the two years at hard labor that Howell received from the chief justice of Jamaica in the courthouse at Morant Bay in 1934, along with the one year at hard labor that was reserved for his lieutenant, Robert Hinds. The highest court official in the colony had been sent all the way from the island's capital of Kingston to preside over the trial of the man who was regarded as the leading figure of the Rastafari, the man who was seen as having started this new religious movement, which many Jamaicans thought of as strange, but which also promoted race consciousness and African solidarity, and overall a radical African-centered philosophy. Howell was the one who was seen as having taken the Rastafari virtually to the doorsteps of the executive and judiciary of the colonial government; and for this role he was eventually made to face conviction for one of the most serious offenses that a civilian could be charged with by their government, the charge of sedition. Howell was sent to jail on this occasion because he was said to have been preaching to people about not pledging allegiance to the colonial government, or to imperial Britain. This kind of advocacy was seen as not merely anticolonial rhetoric, but as the preparation for a revolution, and possibly one that would take place through violent means. And with this kind of implication, something urgent, something swift, and something effective had to be done to put a stop to Howell.

He was already in the national spotlight by the time that the press had really gotten off the ground with their campaign to have him permanently suppressed. Back in 1932, when the *Gleaner* had announced Howell's return to the island as a deportation for an immigration offense, this newspaper could not have possibly predicted that this same man would, in almost no time, also become one of the most discussed persons on its pages. Howell began his preaching in late 1932 or early 1933, but only after he had been featured in the *Gleaner* as a black Jamaican male expelled from the United States. The first story that was printed in the *Gleaner* was shown to be untrue based upon the discoveries made by the police in 1936, but the *Gleaner*, which was soon joined by other newspapers, such as *Public Opinion* and *The Jamaica Times*, subsequently invested far more energy and resources into keeping their readers abreast of almost everything that could prove to the point that Howell was a menace to society. Even in 1936, when the colonial government and its police force had concluded that the matter of Leonard Howell had been put to rest, that the organization that he led was dying, the campaign of the press was literally in full swing. Howell's incarceration for sedition had given comfort only to the government and the police. He had acquired other enemies, who had been waiting in the background for their chance to publicize their own anxieties and outrage, and to participate in any undertaking that could bring about his permanent suppression.

Ordinary civilians and organized labor played a vital role in punishing Howell. We know that white and colored people in Jamaica were very anxious about Howell, that they saw him as the potential leader of another Morant Bay Rebellion, and that they were eager to see the colonial government put an end to his activities. We also know that the Baptist Church was implicated in the anti-Howell campaign, which is somewhat shocking, considering the fact that this same church was active in the struggles against slavery in the early nineteenth century.

And as for organized labor, we know of the participation of Bustamante, who had turned away from black nationalism to embrace the less revolutionary creole nationalism that, in due course, became the means through which Jamaica was decolonized, and through which its independence was achieved in 1962. It was during Bustamante's term as chief minister of Jamaica that the second police raid took place on Howell's encampment at Pinnacle, which dealt the most serious blow to his movement. Participation



in Howell's suppression by the leftist side of creole nationalism was visible in the articles written by Leevy in *Public Opinion* in 1943, in which Howell was advised that most people saw his movement as strange, and would never take the Rastafari as a serious religious organization. Unlike Bustmante, who proposed sending Howell to either jail or the asylum, which implied that he was also fearful of Howell's influence and saw the latter as a contender for the leadership of at least the peasant population, Leevy felt that Howell's influence would never spread beyond a few hundred Jamaicans, and most certainly would never spread beyond Jamaica. This part of the anti-Howell campaign was based on the belief that his movement had nothing useful to offer black Jamaicans or black people from other parts of the world, but the Rastafari movement continued to grow. It survived Howell's death in New Kingston, Jamaica, on 25 February 1981, and is today a global movement.

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## Review Articles

### If We Think Globally, Should We Write Local, National, or Imperial History?

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*The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c.1760-1840.* DAVID ARMITAGE & SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM (eds.). Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. xxxii + 301 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.00)

*War, Empire and Slavery, 1770-1830.* RICHARD BESSEL, NICHOLAS GUYATT & JANE RENDALL (eds.) Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. xv + 299 pp. (Cloth US\$ 85.00)

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Questions of definition and scale are coming to claim equal prominence with questions about inclusion and exclusion in discussions of the period of widespread political and social change that was once unproblematically referred to as the “Age of Democratic Revolutions.” The essays in these two anthologies address both sets of questions. Almost all ask who different cultures or polities included or excluded and how they explained the exclusions. They also address the question of scale. On the one hand, they move beyond the Atlantic basin—the traditional site of studies of the Age of Revolution—to consider how we should conceptualize the relationships among the different regions throughout the globe that were influenced by European expansion during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. On the other hand, various essays ask this broad question of

places of different size. Some balance careful attention to the specifics of local histories with a global perspective, while others work on a national, imperial, or continental scale. If none of the essays solves the riddle of how to strike this balance—it's not, in truth, a riddle amenable to an ultimate solution—they exemplify, especially when read together, the different analytical trade-offs inherent in various approaches to the problem.

Robert Palmer famously chronicled the waves of political upheaval that led to the independence of the United States, the creation of the French Republic and then Empire, and the Spanish American wars of independence in a way that inadvertently called attention to questions about who was included and who excluded from the new nations that emerged in that era. Many came to see his failure to discuss the Haitian Revolution in his opus (1969) as indicative of a blind spot for the racial (and by extension other) exclusions that marred the democratic revolutions he championed. Could that problem be remedied by incorporating the Haitian story into the broader narrative? This question helped stimulate the remarkable outpouring of scholarship on revolutionary Saint Domingue and Haiti over the last thirty years (including Julius S. Scott III's influential dissertation [1986] and important books by Joan Dayan [1995], Laurent Dubois [2004, 2012], John Garrigus [2006], David Geggus [1982, 2002], Stewart King [2001], Jeremy Popkin [2010], and others). The increasing prominence of Haiti in the histories of the Age of Revolution has both reflected and contributed to the established consensus in "mainstream" scholarship on the centrality of the history of the Caribbean to the burgeoning field of Atlantic History. Some historians insist that including Haiti, while necessary, cannot substitute for a more fundamental interrogation of Palmer's optimistic description of the revolutions as "democratic."

All of this work has contributed to a consensus about the importance of Caribbean slavery to Atlantic History that has taken hold as a growing chorus of historians has questioned the coherence of Atlantic History as a field of study. One of the strongest challenges to the Atlantic paradigm has come from scholars who point out that Atlantic societies cannot be separated from the rest of the world, that just as the Atlantic connects to the Pacific and Indian Oceans, so Atlantic societies interacted with peoples beyond the basin. They argue that we should study World History rather than Atlantic World History, because studying the Atlantic basin without adequate attention to the ties between Atlantic societies and the rest of

the globe, especially the Middle East and Asia, paints a misleadingly partial picture. Some pursue this argument through the lens of imperial histories: one cannot understand British Atlantic societies without attention to British expansion in India and East Asia; nor can one adequately understand Dutch and Iberian expansion while limiting attention to the Americas. Others insist that one cannot understand the choices made by Atlantic European powers without attending to the fortunes of the non-Atlantic Ottoman, Russian, and German-speaking polities. Still others argue that important insights can be gained by seeing the military, dynastic, ideological, fiscal, and other administrative challenges at the heart of the classic Atlantic revolutions within the context of similar challenges faced by contemporary Middle Eastern and Asian societies. This perspective suggests that 1760 to 1840 is better understood as a period of “world crisis” (Armitage & Subrahmanyam, p. xxiii) rather than as an age of Atlantic democratic revolutions.

The two volumes reviewed here underscore the widespread dislocation and upheaval experienced in different African, American, Asian, and European societies. With individual national or local case studies ranging across Africa, the Americas (North, South and the Caribbean), and various parts of Eurasia, these collections push readers to make connections beyond their personal areas of geographical expertise and to think seriously about how the forces of revolution, war, and imperial expansion shaped the globe during that era. Most of the essays in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context* are synthetic discussions of the period in a single nation or empire (the United States, France, Haiti, Java, China) or region (Iberian America, the Caribbean, Africa, South Asia), though Maya Jasanoff’s essay comparing the American Loyalist and French Émigré diasporas and Juan Cole’s discussion of creolizations in French-occupied Egypt are less broadly synthetic in approach. In that sense, those two fine essays might have fit more naturally in *War, Empire and Slavery*, which is dominated by case studies of the effects of war and revolution in a wide range of specific places, including Haiti, France, Buenos Aires, South Africa, St. Louis (U.S.A.), Russia, Iran, and the island of Grenada. Each of the essays in both anthologies offers a valuable reading of the issue it addresses. Rather than attempt to summarize roughly twenty-five arguments in a single review, I will focus on general claims made by three of the authors—C.A. Bayly, Lynn Hunt, and

Joseph C. Miller—to highlight the themes and problems that run through both collections.

Bayly's work serves as the connective tissue joining the two collections, in part because he writes an agenda-defining essay in each one—the "Afterword" for *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context* and the first substantive chapter in *War, Empire and Slavery*—but more importantly, because his seminal *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914* is so important in framing the move from the Atlantic to the Global. In his essay in *War, Empire and Slavery*, Bayly articulates a specific version of the general question raised in both books: "how far should we widen the lens through which we observe the supposedly Euro-American revolutions after 1776?" (p. 32). Lynn Hunt raises a similar issue when she warns readers to guard against losing "all the things we have been able to learn from local and national studies," especially the much richer understanding of racial and gender systems and subaltern agency that is found in recent work, by turning to global history. "The global turn should not just offer a broader or bigger view; it has to offer a better one" (p. 34).

The essays in these books embody the tension that Bayly and Hunt point toward. Almost all place their topics in a global context and use that context to ask interesting questions. In *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context*, Gary Nash uses the greater international currency of the anti-imperial thrust of the American Revolution (as opposed to internal struggles over power in the new nation) to suggest that what U.S. historians often see as the more conservative aspects of the Independence movement—the struggle for home rule—were more radical in effect than the struggle over who would rule at home. His is the first of several essays, including Jeremy Adelman's on Iberian America and David Geggus's on the Caribbean and Juan Cole's on Egypt, to suggest that the most fundamental changes that occurred in the era often came as unintended consequences, rather than as the preconceived effect of actions inspired by political ideologies. In each case broad political and ideological currents got redirected into local streams where they created unanticipated historical change. Uncertain and nonlinear connections among local trends and international forces also predominate in the essays discussing Asia. Robert Travers traces the way that British and French intervention in South Asia accelerated and exacerbated pre-existing trends toward "political decentralization and regional state formation," (p. 146), which ultimately contributed to the construction of the British Raj. Peter Carey shows that Dutch and British colonial interventions undercut



the cultural power of Javanese court traditions, and Kenneth Pommerantz untangles the ways in which the Qing dynasty sought to address fiscal and military challenges that paralleled but did not coincide with problems faced by contemporary European powers. Though the individual authors do not make this point explicitly, most of the essays negotiate the complicated terrain highlighted by Lynn Hunt's warning as they seek to fit complicated and idiosyncratic local pictures into a global framework.

The essays in *War, Empire and Slavery* engage with the same set of challenges. Laurent Dubois foregrounds the difficulties involved in untangling two very different conceptions of history and politics—one rooted in Europe and the other in Africa—when trying to make sense of the course of emancipation in Haiti. His essay is followed by four local studies that explore specific events or discuss important individuals. Lyman Johnson explores the way that rumor carried international events into Buenos Aires, creating a state of paranoia that produced what was probably a conspiracy scare. Nigel Worden analyzes an 1808 slave conspiracy at the Cape Colony in present-day South Africa, showing how conspirators used both indigenous and external semiotic systems to organize their uprising. Marie-Jeanne Rossignol's reading of Jacques-Pierre Brissot's failed effort to build an antislavery international provides a useful reminder of the way that narrowly national interests could undercut transnational efforts, just as Julie Winch's case study of a mixed race family in St. Louis illustrates the unpredictable ways that changing imperial boundaries opened and closed opportunities for individuals who crossed them. The subjects of each of these essays were influenced by large transnational forces that alternately opened new possibilities or limited available options. The book closes with five essays, each of which discusses processes of identity formation at different sites, from the Spanish-American imagination (Rebecca Earle) and Grenada (Caitlin Anderson) in the Americas to Russia (Janet Hartley), Iran (Joanna de Groot), and the Portuguese Empire (Foteini Vlachou). In each case the author shows that people dealt with the specific challenges they faced by drawing on cultural resources from both local and international sources.

The blandness of that generalization does a disservice to the fascinating insights and arguments offered in several of the essays, and it suggests a corollary to Lynn Hunt's warning that bigger views are not necessarily better: broader perspectives are not necessarily more interesting. As we move from fascinating stories of people seeking social, political, or cultural space

in which to build more meaningful lives to overarching generalizations about the strengthening state or the growing importance of different governments' relative ability to mobilize their societies' fiscal resources, there is a danger that the global turn will become a re-turn, replicating earlier historiographical imbalances that placed imperial metropolises and political elites at the center of History. The editors of both of these volumes have worked hard to resist that danger, and the individual essays succeed, but their successes highlight a yawning gap separating our conceptualizations of global history and our understandings of the ways actual people living on the globe struggle to make meaning in their lives.

Perhaps it is unsurprising that one of the leading historians of Africa—Joseph C. Miller—offers the most promising way to think in global terms about how to bridge that gap in his essay in *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context*. Faced with explaining how to understand sub-Saharan Africa, which seems at first glance to have been largely removed from Atlantic Revolutions, during the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, he manages in a single brief essay to use Africans' responses to challenges of the Age to cast a de-familiarizing light on better known western narratives, and to offer a powerful way to think about the forces shaping global history during that period and the different ways different peoples responded. From the perspective of Africa, the age was characterized by an explosion of European and European-American credit, and the revolutionary effect was to transform relationships once characterized by mutuality and reciprocity into relationships characterized by freebooting capitalism and the use of commodity exchange to gain commercial advantage. This financed the militarization of African societies much as it financed the militarization of European and Asian societies. The African case is particularly instructive as a comparison to European and American cases that are treated as the norm, because Africans strove to come to grips with these forces using a restorative rather than a progressive vision of history.

Africans did not find more humane ways of surmounting the challenges of rampant commercialization than did Americans, Asians, or Europeans. Their societies were turned upside down as slaving intensified and warrior states emerged to defend themselves by preying on others. If there was a communalist answer to predatory commercial capitalism in the age of revolution, Africans did not find it. Miller's essay does not offer a historical road not taken that could have produced a more humane world order. Instead,

it offers a historiographical road to take, by providing the kinds of clearly conceptualized links between broad global forces and the lives of common people. Miller cannot, of course, create those links in a single essay; instead he points toward the connections that he has spent a career uncovering. In doing so his essay best exemplifies what Armitage and Subrahmanyam call for in the introduction to their anthology: he begins to craft “an account of the chains of causation, modes of connection, and means of comparison” that will be necessary to see the age of revolutions “as a whole and on a global scale” (p. xiv), but to do so without losing sight of the human scale on which residents of the globe lived their lives.

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## Bookshelf 2012

Richard Price & Sally Price

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In this moment of transition for the *New West Indian Guide* (as it becomes a publication of Brill), it may be appropriate to look back on the history of the book review section as well as forward to plans for its expansion. Founded in 1919 as the *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, the NWIG published book reviews only sporadically, and almost always in Dutch, for its first six-plus decades. As part of its revitalization in 1982 it became an exclusively English-language publication and a book review editor was appointed, charged with finding reviewers for Caribbean books published in all languages. Sally Price served in this capacity during the first five years, producing an average of 36 reviews (plus some 3 review articles) annually. After Rolph Trouillot succeeded her, the annual number declined to 21 (with almost no review articles). Then, in the early 1990s the team of Rich and Sally took over and began publishing about 60 reviews and 6 review articles per year, with the rate stabilizing for more than a decade at some 52 reviews plus 4 or 5 review articles annually. We are pleased to announce that with the current issue, we move up to a steady offering of 100 reviews a year (fifty reviews plus 1 to 3 review articles in each issue). The annual “Bookshelf” section, inaugurated in 1993, will continue to offer brief discussion of books on Caribbean subjects that aren’t receiving full reviews. (Some of those books that would once have been included in “Bookshelf” will henceforth be treated to full reviews under the new plan.)

Where, one might ask, are all these new books coming from? The answer is paradoxical. Academic publishers, both in the United States and Europe, are complaining to anyone who will listen that sales of scholarly books have fallen precipitously. Print runs have been shrinking for years, as library sales dry up. Yet more and more titles are getting published, usually by traditional means, but often now also as ebooks or by print-on-demand.

And new monograph series dedicated to the Caribbean continue to sprout: Rutgers University Press's Caribbean Critical Studies and Brill's Caribbean Series are just the latest examples to come to our attention. So, for the short term, at least, we have our work cut out for us.

We continue to enjoy the contact with fellow Caribbeanists that *NWIG* book reviewing affords, and it's a wonderful way to keep up with publishing on the region. The one unpleasant part of our job is dealing with the fate of those few books that cannot be brought to the attention of *NWIG* readers because the promised review has failed to materialize. We offer laggard reviewers a series of gentle reminders, extended deadlines, and the option of passing the book on to another reviewer, but when none of that works, our only recourse is to announce the reason for the absence of a review of a particular book in the annual Caribbeanist Hall of Shame. As is our custom, and in an attempt to exercise discretion and protect the reputation of innocent Caribbeanists, we follow the eighteenth-century convention in identifying delinquent reviewers by first and last initials. This year's small crop includes:

*Gwoka et politique en Guadeloupe, 1960-2003: 40 ans de construction du "pays"*, by Marie-Hélène Laumuno (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011, paper €21.00) (J—n-P—e S—n)

*Reading to Barbados and Back: Echoes of British History. The Tudor Family of Haynes of Reading*, by Stewart Johnson (Brighton, U.K.: Book Guild, 2011, cloth £17.99) (K—l W—n)

There were also two books that could not in the end be reviewed because of circumstances beyond the reviewer's control: *The Price of Blood: History of Repression and Rebellion in Haiti Under Dr. Francois Duvalier, 1957-1962* and *Murderers Among Us: History of Repression and Rebellion in Haiti Under Dr. Francois Duvalier 1962-1971*, both by Bernard Diederich (Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2011, paper US\$ 28.95).

This year, once again, we complement our Caribbeanist Hall of Shame with a list of books of interest to Caribbeanists that have not been reviewed in the journal because the publishers have failed, after at least two requests on our part, to get them to the reviewers. We remain puzzled as to why these books never arrived and suspect diverse reasons, as most of these

publishers do routinely send books that we request. But there seem to be an increasing number of books that publishers simply fail to send. In any case, here is our list of the books never received by our willing reviewers:

*No Man's Land: Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor*, by Cindy Hahamovitch (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 35.00)

*Fixing Haiti: MINUSTAH and Beyond*, edited by Jorge Heine & Andrew S. Thompson (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2011, paper US\$ 35.00)

*Cuban Color in Tourism and la Lucha: An Ethnography of Racial Meanings*, by L. Kaifa Roland (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, paper US\$ 19.95)

*The Slaves who Defeated Napoléon: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian War of Independence, 1801-1804*, by Philippe R. Girard (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 45.00)

*Red Heat: Conspiracy, Murder, and the Cold War in the Caribbean*, by Alex Von Tunzelmann (New York: Henry Holt, 2011, cloth US\$ 30.00)

*Fewer Men, More Babies: Sex, Family, and Fertility in Haiti*, by Timothy T. Schwartz (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2009, cloth US\$ 78.99)

*Time and Memory in Reggae Music: The Politics of Hope*, by Sarah Daynes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 85.00)

*Caryl Phillips, David Dabydeen and Fred D'Aguiar: Representations of Slavery*, by Abigail Ward (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 80.00)

*Representations of the Island in Caribbean Literature: Caribbean Women Redefine Their Homelands*, by Florence Ramond Jurney (Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2009, cloth US\$ 109.95)

*Postcolonial Literature and the Impact of Literacy: Reading and Writing in African and Caribbean Fiction*, by Neil ten Kortenaar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 90.00)

*Border Crossings: A Trilingual Anthology of Caribbean Women Writers*, edited by Nicole Roberts & Elizabeth Walcott-Hackshaw (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 25.00)

And there were several books that we requested from publishers for mention in Bookshelf that never arrived. We merely list them here:

- Light Falling on Bamboo*, by Lawrence Scott (Birmingham, U.K.: Tindal Street Press, 2012, paper, US\$ 19.95)
- Mixed Company: Three Early Jamaican Plays*, edited by Yvonne Brewster (London: Oberon, 2012, paper £14.99)
- By Love Possessed*, by Lorna Goodison (New York: Amistad, 2012, paper US\$ 14.99)
- This is How You Lose Her*, by Junot Diaz (New York: Riverhead Books, 2012, cloth US\$ 26.95)
- Remembering Che: My Life with Che Guevara*, by Aleida March (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2012, paper US\$ 18.95)
- Slavery in African and the Caribbean: A History of Enslavement and Identity since the 18th Century*, by Olatunji Ojo & Nadine Hunt (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012, cloth US\$ 99.00)

Our task of finding willing book reviewers continues to be fraught. There are a number of books for which we valiantly tried to find a reviewer but to no avail. We merely list those volumes here:

- Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, edited by Marcel van der Linden (Leiden: Brill, 2010, cloth US\$ 183.00)
- The United States and Cuba: Intimate Enemies*, by Marifeli Pérez-Stable (New York: Routledge, 2011, paper US\$ 38.95)
- Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Interactions, Identities, and Images*, edited by Ana Lucia Araujo (Amherst NY: Cambria Press, 2011, paper US\$ 129.99)
- A Promise in Haiti: A Reporter's Notes on Families and Daily Lives*, by Mark Curnutte (Nashville TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 25.00)
- Haiti: After the Earthquake*, by Paul Farmer, edited by Abbey Gardner & Cassia Van Der Hoof Holstein (New York: PublicAffairs, 2011, paper US\$ 16.99)
- Pak's Britannica: Articles by and Interviews with David Dabydeen*, edited by Lynne Macedo (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 25.00)
- Talking Words: New Essays on the Work of David Dabydeen*, edited by Lynne Macedo (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 25.00)



- Anansi's Journey: A Story of Jamaican Cultural Resistance*, by Emily Zobel Marshall (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 30.00)
- She's Mad Real: Popular Culture and West Indian Girls in Brooklyn*, by Oneka LaBennett (New York: New York University Press, 2011, paper US\$ 22.00)
- The Cuban Revolution as Socialist Human Development*, by Henry Veltmeyer & Mark Rushton (Leiden: Brill, 2011, cloth US\$ 136.00)
- Colonialism, Slavery, Reparations and Trade: Remediating the Past?*, edited by Fernne Brennan & John Packer (New York: Routledge, 2012, cloth US\$ 135.00)
- The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights Law*, by Jenny S. Martinez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 29.95)
- Expansionism: Its Effects on Cuba's Independence*, by Frank R. Villafaña (Edison NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011, cloth US\$ 39.95)
- Emancipados: Slave Societies in Brazil and Cuba*, by Babatunde Sofela (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2011, paper US\$ 29.95)
- Narratives of Migration and Displacement in Dominican Literature*, by Danny Méndez (New York: Routledge, 2012, cloth US\$ 125.00)
- The Popular Music and Entertainment Culture of Barbados: Pathways to Digital Culture*, by Curwen Best (Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 75.00)
- Culture Works: Space, Value, and Mobility across the Neoliberal Americas*, by Arlene Dávila (New York: NYU Press, 2012, paper US\$ 22.00)
- Women in Cuba: The Making of a Revolution within the Revolution: From Santiago de Cuba and the Rebel Army, to the Birth of the Federation of Cuban Women*, by Vilma Espín, Asela de los Santos & Yolanda Ferrer (New York: Pathfinder, 2012, paper US\$ 20.00)
- Policing the Caribbean: Transnational Security Cooperation in Practice*, by Ben Bowling (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 120.00)

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As has long been our custom, we begin with fiction—a category of books not otherwise reviewed in *NWIG*.

A remarkable first novel, *The Sly Company of People Who Care*, by Rahul Bhattacharya (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2011, cloth US\$ 26.00), is written in the form of a travelogue by a 26-year-old cricket writer from

India. The narrator records a year of liming and wandering around Guyana, from GT to the Rupununi and, briefly, over the borders to Brazil and Venezuela, accompanied throughout by one of the truest ears, and voices, to come along in years—wonderful local dialogue that catches the ubiquitous racialization of Guyana, with pounding lyrics from Jamaican Ska and Reggae and Trini chutney always in the background.

*God Carlos*, by Anthony C. Winkler (New York: Akashic Books, 2012, paper US\$ 15.95), signals a turn in this prolific author's modus operandi from his usual belly-laugh-inducing humor to allegorical history, concerning a 1520 Spanish ship's exploration of Jamaica and encounters with its native people. Our jury remains out on the success of the result.

*Kingston Noir*, edited by Colin Channer (New York: Akashic Books, 2012, paper US\$ 15.95), following up on Edwige Danticat's *Haiti Noir* collection (reviewed favorably in Bookshelf 2011) includes eleven dark and comic stories set in Jamaica's capital, often with surprising twists—our favorites were by Kwame Dawes, Kei Miller, Christopher John Farley, and Colin Channer.

*Ten Days in Jamaica* (Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree, 2012, paper £8.99), by Jamaica-born Ifeona Fulani, gathers eight lyrical and engaging stories of love, loneliness, and displacement, involving tourists, Rastas, and ordinary Jamaicans at home and abroad.

*Huracan* (Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree, 2012, paper £10.99), the second novel of Diane McCaulay, Jamaican writer and environmentalist, weaves in and out among three stories and periods—that of a young Scottish bookkeeper on an eighteenth-century Jamaican sugar plantation, that of a nineteenth-century postemancipation Baptist minister, also from Scotland, in a small Jamaican village, and that of a young Jamaican woman, coming home in the 1980s after some years in the United States, all fictionalized versions of McCaulay's life and family history. The result manages to hang together, though there are moralizing passages that don't quite work—not great literature but a pretty good read.

*Boundaries* (New York: Akashic Books, 2011, cloth US\$ 22.95), Elizabeth Nunez's eighth novel, is a sequel to *Anna In-Between*, which we reviewed favorably in last year's Bookshelf. Set in Anna's New York publishing world rather than her parents' comfortable Trinidad household, it continues the mordant focus on parent-daughter (particularly mother-daughter) relations but adds a love relationship and considerable commentary about Caribbean immigrant-African American relations as well.

Patrick Chamoiseau's latest is the dense, highly philosophical (in the French style) *L'impreinte à Crusoé* (Paris: Gallimard, 2012, paper €18.50). This idiosyncratic Robinsonnade locates itself somewhere in the interstices between Defoe and Michel Tournier's *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique*, with Parmenides, Heraclitus, Perse, Césaire, Walcott, and Faulkner (says Chamoiseau) lurking in the background. Written in the solitary narrator's stream of consciousness, separated only by semi-colons, and filled with thoughts about language and speech (itself couched in inventive, imaginative language), the novel has been positively reviewed in the French press.

*Les hamacs de carton* (Rodez: Rouergue, 2012, €19.50) is the debut novel of Colin Niel (whose day job is environmental engineering), announced as the first in a series of *policiers* featuring Captain Anato, the only Ndyuka-born police inspector (Special Investigations) in Guyane. Set in Cayenne and along the Maroni, it is strong on local color (from Ndyuka burial rites to the bureaucratic intricacies of Surinamers trying to obtain French residence papers), but we found it less persuasive in such literary domains as plot, dialogue, and character.

*Navel String* (Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree, 2012, paper £8.99) is prolific Adrian Augier's latest collection of strong poems from St. Lucia—landscapes and seascapes, politics and history, a sensibility to change and, often, loss.

Turning to history, it is difficult to know how to characterize *General History of the Caribbean, Vol 4., The Long Nineteenth Century: Nineteenth-Century Transformations*, edited by K.O. Lawrence & Jorge Ibarra Cuesta (Paris: Unesco, 2011, paper €25.00). Planned in the mid-1980s, the volume's main editor was originally Manuel Moreno Fraginals, who died in 2001. Four of the seventeen thematic chapters were completed on schedule in the 1980s, three in the 1990s, and ten since then (including two chapters that took twenty years to submit). Two chapters went through four different sets of authors before completion. So, we have nearly 700 seriously scholarly pages by twenty-four authors, many of whom are well-known historians, often with out-of-date bibliographies (and sometimes out-of-date arguments). The photo captions reflect a certain insouciance: Plate 113 says "Public Building, Paramaribo, Suriname" but the image shows the famous German Synagogue built in 1835; most artworks list the artist's name but Plate 28, the famous "Marron Inconnu" across from the Presidential Palace in Port-au-Prince (here labeled "Nègre Marron") omits the name of its well-known sculptor, Albert Mangonès; and so on. Had the chapters been

written, submitted, and published in a timely fashion, this volume might have been a fine compilation.

*Darker than Blue: On the Moral Economies of Black Atlantic Culture*, by Paul Gilroy (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010, cloth US\$ 22.95). A highly personal look at ethical issues as expressed through Black music, touching in fascinating ways on the historical relationship between African Americans and automobiles, and, of special interest to Caribbeanists, reconsidering and redefining Bob Marley's political legacy, in the wake of Frantz Fanon and Martin Luther King, Jr., as consisting of "cultivating the forms of love that would be necessary to maintain the ethical core of non-violence in the face of prosecution and provocation." Gilroy writes of Marley: "The [revolutionary] love he exalts is romantic and sexual, but it is also playful, boastful, narcissistic, and communal. It is fundamentally a love of life itself, deeply imprinted by the memory of slavery . . . This defence of life was tied to Marley's opposition to all war and to his stalwart advocacy of peace. This is his gift to us and the future."

*Mapping Latin America: A Cartographic Reader*, edited by Jordana Dym & Karl Offen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, paper US\$ 39.00), offers 57 essays, each focusing on a map, reproduced in color, designed to showcase new approaches to reading the social and cultural history of maps, including their reception. Only four chapters are of direct Caribbean relevance—one on Raleigh's ca. 1596 depiction of Guiana (El Dorado), one on an 1834 map of Papine Estate in Jamaica (which also includes a map of a 1790 plantation in Saint-Domingue), and two on Cuba (Esso Standard Oil's highway map of 1956 and a map plus aerial photo of strategic missile locations from 1962).

*The Baker's Son: My Life in Business. The Story of how the Golden Krust Empire was Built, from a Village Shop in Jamaica to the Heights of American Enterprise*, by Lowell Hawthorne with Michael A. Grant (New York: Akashic Books, 2012, paper US\$ 15.95), is a self-styled "business memoir" by a successful entrepreneur and philanthropist that engagingly describes the birth and development of this unlikely patty-producing project which now has more than 120 franchises along the east coast of the United States.

*Il était une fois le bain colonial... Vie d'un fonctionnaire civil de l'administration pénitentiaire, entre Nouvelle-Calédonie, Guyane et Afrique (1890-1945)*, by Danielle Donet-Vincent (Matoury, Guyane: Ibis Rouge, 2012, paper €35.00), presents scenes in the life of colonial administrator Albert

Ubaud, the bulk of them in Guyane, largely through his own diaries, memoirs, watercolors, drawings, and photos.

Two on heritage in Martinique. *Le patrimoine des communes de la Martinique*, edited by Jean-Luc Flohic et al. (Le François, Martinique: Fondation Clément, paper €20.00), is the revised edition of a 1998 work, now nearly 500 pages with numerous color images on each. It is largely devoted to architecture but also shows furniture and other items of that peculiar French category of “*patrimoine*.” Under the town of Le Diamant, for example, only several pages separate the entry on *pots de chambre* (chamber pots), of which five pottery examples are illustrated, and that on Édouard Glissant. *L’Habitation Clément. Du sucre au rhum agricole: Deux siècles de patrimoine industriel*, by Christophe Charlery & Florent Plasse (Paris: H.C. Éditions, 2010, paper €8.00), is a guidebook to what is arguably Martinique’s best-known sugar plantation, replete with local history, explanations of rum manufacture, and architectural images, interior and exterior, of the site near the town of Le François.

*Un autre monde nous est possible : pont de vue d’un naïf* (Fort-de-France: Fondok, 2012, n.p.), by Thierry Ichelmann, is a *cri de coeur* documenting the discouraging (non)evolution of Martinique during the past fifty years in terms of unemployment, migratory flows, and much else, and trying to sketch the broad lines of a solution, involving Martiniquan identity and autonomy within the French Republic—familiar, very Martiniquan, and ultimately, another voice in the wilderness.

Rosemarijn Hoefte has kindly written four paragraphs to bring to our readers’ attention a number of recent Dutch-language works:

In *Verzamelaars en volksopvoeders: Musea in Suriname 1863-2012* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012, cloth €24.90) Pepijn Reeser presents an illustrated history of Suriname museums since the abolition of slavery. This co-production of the Dutch Nationaal Historisch Museum and the Surinaams Museum appeared during the 65th anniversary of the Surinaams Museum in Paramaribo. Another beautifully produced book is *Ego Documenta: The Testament of my Ego in the Museum of my Mind*, by Felix de Rooy (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2012, cloth €34.50), on the exhibits, paintings, drawings, films, theater, writings and other artistic expressions by this artist of Curaçaoan and Surinamese descent. Despite its title, the Dutch texts are not translated into English, but this book is still worth its money for non-Dutch readers. *Curaçao Classics: Beeldende kunst/Arte visual 1900-2010*, by Jennifer

Smit & Felix de Rooy (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2012, paper €29.50), is a bilingual English/Papiamentu catalog featuring local and migrant artists as well as transients. It is based on the exhibition “Antepasado di Futuro” (Curaçao Museum, October 2010-January 2011), which documented the development of the island’s visual arts between 1900 and 2010. Included are more than 150 works by 95 artists.

Three well-written journalistic accounts. In 1992, veteran Hans Buddingh’ published the first edition of *De geschiedenis van Suriname*; the new (third) edition (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam/NRC Boeken, 2012, paper €29.95) updates events to 2012. This excellent volume pays attention not only to Paramaribo but also to the rapid changes in the interior. In contrast, the Dutch-Belgian duo of Ivo Evers and Pieter Van Maele, in *Bouterse aan de macht* (Amsterdam: De Bezige Bij, 2012, paper €21.95), details national politics in the capital by focusing on the byzantine maneuvering leading to the election of Desi Bouterse as president of Suriname in August 2010 and the eventful two years since then. Trix van Bennekom moved to Bonaire in 2005; *De tragiek van Bonaire: Nederlands onvermogen op een eiland waar niets is wat het lijkt* (Leersum, the Netherlands: Village, 2012, paper €17.95) is a staccato-style account of the recent turmoil on this island that in 2010 became a “special municipality” of the Netherlands. In addition, Jack Schellekens compiled almost forty newspaper articles on the history of Curaçao in two volumes intended for tourists and other general readers: *Indianen, de WIC en invasies* and *De zee, handel en scheepvaart* (Curaçao: Caribpublishing, 2012, cloth €15.90 each).

Three history publications focus on war and police: *Teken en zie de wereld: Oorlogsveteranen in Suriname* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2012, cloth €24.50) includes portraits of 32 men and five women from Suriname who served in World War II or the Korean War. The great majority are based on interviews conducted between 2000 and 2009. More than half of the veterans served in the Netherlands East Indies. As an addition to the five-book series “De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse politie,” two volumes on the history of the police in Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles were published in December 2011: *De geschiedenis van de politie in Suriname, 1863-1975: Van koloniale tot nationale ordehandhaving*, by Ellen Klinkers, and *De geschiedenis van de politie op de Nederlands-Caribische eilanden 1839-2010: Geboeid door macht en onmacht* by Aart Broek (Amsterdam: Boom/Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011, cloth €25.50 each). Both authors use archival sources, newspapers, and oral histories to reconstruct the history of Suriname’s

police force from the abolition of slavery to independence and the Antillean police from the first “professional” colonial police force to the constitutional changes in 2010.

*Flying on Trusted Wings: 50 jaar Surinam Airways*, edited by Peter Sanches (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2012, cloth €25.00), is a pictorial history of Suriname’s national airline on the occasion of the company’s fiftieth anniversary. Finally, Jeroen Leinders wrote a historical novel, *Tula: Verloren vrijheid* (Schoorl, the Netherlands: Conserve, 2012, paper €17.99), about the enslaved leader of the revolt in Curaçao in 1795. Leinders is also producer of the international movie based on the book, to be released in 2013, the year of the 150th anniversary of the Dutch abolition of slavery.

The arts are well represented in this year’s collection.

Two more monumental volumes have been published in *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, the incomparable series begun a half century ago by the late Dominique de Menil: *The Image of the Black in Western Art, Vol. III, Pt 2. From the “Age of Discovery” to the Age of Abolition: The Eighteenth Century*, edited by Jean Michel Massing, and *Vol III, Pt. 3. From the “Age of Discovery” to the Age of Abolition: Europe and the World Beyond*, edited by David Bindman & Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, cloth US\$ 95.00 each). The beautiful, indeed stunning reproductions are well worth the price of the books. The accompanying texts, unfortunately, are often out of date (not surprisingly, since these books have been so long in the making) or strongly biased toward Western art history (rather than the history or ethnography often needed to make full sense of the paintings). For example, regarding the famous 1699 painting by Adrián Sánchez Galque of three Maroon chiefs from Esmeraldas (III, 2, p. 155), the most recent reference is 1974, while Kris Lane and others have long since published definitive new materials. Or, closer to home: the lengthy section on Dirk Valkenburg and his marvelous 1707 painting of a slave play in Suriname (III, 3, pp. 241-246)—“Few other pictures in this volume approach this one in the authenticity of the setting, the variety and individuality of the figures, the rendering of surfaces, and the exquisiteness of execution”—is written solely from a European art historical perspective, with an endnote saying, “For a thought-provoking interpretation based on a close study of Maroon society in Surinam, see Richard Price, *First-Time* [etc.],” but including none of those insights/interpretations. Nor do these pages cite Natalie Zemon Davis’s provocative interpretations of the painting



in *Women on the Margins*. In general—and how ironic!—*The Image of the Black* series maintains a firmly Eurocentric gaze on these works of art, denying agency (and humanity) to the very people who are its subject.

Four beautiful books published by HC Éditions (based in Paris) significantly enrich the documentation of Caribbean art: *Khokho: Joseph René-Corail* (2008, cloth €45.00) constitutes an homage to the life (1932-1998), activism, and art of one of Martinique's most colorful personalities. Essays by ten commentators are accompanied by numerous images of Khokho (rarely without a cigarette) and his eclectic artistic production in oil, wood, earth, pastel, metal, patchwork, ink, and charcoal. *Art contemporain de la Caraïbe: Mythes, croyances, religions et imaginaires* (2012, cloth €50.00), lavishly illustrated and tipping the scale at more than 3 kilos, presents the work of thirteen artists who were featured in the exhibition *Spiritualité, rituels et imaginaires* (Martinique 2011). Evocations of African roots and the legacy of slavery as well as cosmologies and imaginaires from the French, English, and Hispanic Caribbean permeate an eclectic array of art from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. No one could turn the pages of this *beau livre* without concluding that the Caribbean is a region of stunning artistic creativity. And two impressive volumes published in 2011 (each paper, €22.50) belong on the bookshelves of anyone with an interest in the French and/or Caribbean world of art and literature of the 1930s and 1940s. *Césaire & Picasso: Corps Perdu, Histoire d'une rencontre* reproduces the pages of the original (1950) edition of Césaire's *Corps Perdu* with engravings by Picasso. Surrealist scholar Anne Egger contributes a useful essay on their relationship ("Rencontre du volcan et du Minotaure") as well as a glossary, notes on post-1950 editions, and biographical chronologies. In *Césaire et Lam: Insolites bâtisseurs*, Daniel Maximin draws on Césaire's texts and Lam's images to construct a "dialogue between *Le Cahier [d'un retour au pays natal]* and *La Jungle*." More artworks and poetic excerpts, as well as commentary by others such as Pierre Loeb, René Ménénil, André Breton, and Suzanne Césaire, round out the volume, which ends with biographical chronologies of Lam and Césaire.

*The Art of Denis Williams*, by Evelyne A. Williams (Leeds, U.K.: Peepal Tree, 2012, paper US\$ 54.95), is a beautifully written and illustrated exploration of the life and art of this important twentieth-century Caribbean intellectual. Written by his daughter, and published by the press that had earlier reprinted two of his novels, it weaves in and out of biography, art criticism, social history, Caribbean identity movements, and more, tracing

Williams's ties with a wide range of artists, writers, politicians, scholars, and activists, from Francis Bacon (with whom he shared a studio in London) and Ulli Beier (with whom he collaborated in Nigeria) to Forbes Burnham (as an honored guest at Guyana's 1966 independence celebrations). His permanent return to Guyana at mid-life—first living for several years in the Upper Mazaruni River region and then in Georgetown—provided a base for his archaeological work and his commitment to Guyanese culture, which included producing a number of scientific reports and environmental assessments, founding the Walter Roth Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology and the journal *Archaeology and Anthropology*, and curating an exhibition of contemporary Guyanese art. Books provided one of many formats for his prolific output as an artist; his cover for George Lamming's 1956 *In the Castle of My Skin* was the first book jacket design by a West Indian for a West Indian, and others graced the covers of novels by Jan Carew and Wole Soyinka. This portrait of a man who left his mark on the Caribbean through drawings, portraiture, monuments, scholarly articles on art and archaeology, novels and short stories, cultural activism, museum work, and more should be of interest to all Caribbeanists.

Tina K. Ramnarine, whom we had asked to review *Music of the Indian Diaspora in Trinidad*, by Laxmi Ganesh Tewari (Coconut Creek FL: Caribbean Studies Press, 2011, paper US\$ 40.00), instead submitted this book note, which she considered more appropriate in this case: "This book contributes to a growing bibliography on Indian Diasporic Studies. Its principal contribution lies in presenting a substantial collection of song texts in Devnagari script with English translation. Most of the song texts are from wedding songs and bhajans (devotional songs) and have been transcribed from field recordings Tewari made in 1991-1994. A CD is included, which is also an extremely useful resource. An introduction to the collection of song texts outlines the historical and performance contexts and is illustrated with photographs. Readers with special interests in the music of the Indian Diaspora in the Caribbean will be especially keen to examine these song texts and listen to the recordings. The volume will interest readers with a general interest in the cultural practices of the Indian Diaspora too."

*Jimmy Cliff*, by Daniel Katz (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 2011, US\$ 17.00), is the latest in the Caribbean Lives series, which presents "short, readable biographies [roughly 260 pages each] . . . written for a general readership," with a selected discography and something of a hagiographic tone.

*Rastafari in the New Millennium: A Rastafari Reader*, edited by Michael Barnett (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 39.95), brings together an excellent selection of articles on the movement—historical, international (Rastafari in New Zealand, Ethiopia, Bahia . . .), musical, the place of women, and so forth, only one-third of which are previously published.

*Old Havana: Spirit of the Living City / La Habana Vieja: El espíritu de la ciudad viva*, with photos by Chip Cooper & Néstor Martí, and essays by Magda Resik Aguirre & Philip D. Beidler (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 49.95), is a coffee-table book of art photographs by a U.S. and a Cuban photographer, made at the behest of the director of the Habana Vieja restoration project. It adds another heavy tome to an already sagging shelf of similar photo books. The bilingual titles of the plates (“Woman waiting / Mujer que espera,” “Blue door / Puerta azul” . . .) might better have been omitted.

There’s a special issue of the journal *Archipélies* (number 3-4) entitled *De la créolisation culturelle* (and dedicated to Jean-Luc Bonniol) that bears mention. Edited by anthropologist Gerry L’Étang, its nearly 300 pages give a pretty fair idea of the idiosyncratic Francophone take on the phenomenon of creolization.

And a lone cookbook: Wendy Rahamut’s *Curry, Callaloo & Calypso: The Real Taste of Trinidad & Tobago* (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 2011, cloth, £22.80) follows a popular format for Caribbean cookbooks—lavishly illustrated texts celebrating the author’s country and its cuisine, glossy oversize photos of the foods in question, commentary on tropical ingredients (peppers, breadfruit, etc.) that might not be familiar to non-Caribbeans, and of course the recipes. Although this one is a bit heavy on fried foods and coconut dishes for our taste, it includes a number of interesting recipes that we will surely try out. (That said, Elisabeth Lambert Ortiz’s *The Complete Book of Caribbean Cooking*, which offers wonderful recipes without all the hype and gloss, remains our special favorite.)

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There are a number of titles that we have noticed but neither examined nor requested for review, in some cases because their Caribbean content is restricted to a chapter or two, in others because they didn’t seem sufficiently compelling given space limitations, or for a variety of diverse reasons. We simply list them here for our readers’ information:

- Economic Development in the Americas since 1500: Endowments and Institutions*, by Stanley L. Engerman & Kenneth L. Sokoloff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, paper US\$ 34.99) [previously published articles on rates of economic growth in Latin American and mainland North America]
- New Perspectives on Slavery and Colonialism in the Caribbean*, edited by Marten Schalkwijk & Stephen Small (Den Haag: Amrit, 2011, paper €17.50)
- In Search of Power: African Americans in the Era of Decolonization, 1956-1974*, by Brenda Gayle Plummer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, paper US\$ 29.99)
- Race, Ethnicity, Crime and Criminal Justice in the Americas*, edited by Anita Kalunta-Crumpton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$ 85.00) [includes one chapter each on Cuba, Jamaica, and Trinidad & Tobago]
- Justice and Peace in a Renewed Caribbean: Contemporary Catholic Reflections*, edited by Anna Kasafi Perkins, Donald Chambers & Jacqueline Porter (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$ 84.86)
- Re-constructing Place and Space: Media, Culture, Discourse and the Constitution of Caribbean Diasporas*, edited by Kamille Gentles-Peart & Maurice L. Hall (Newcastle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2012, cloth US\$ 52.99)
- A Caribbean Forest Tapestry: The Multidimensional Nature of Disturbance and Response*, edited by Nicholas Brokaw (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 74.99)
- Mitigating Vulnerability to High and Volatile Oil Prices: Power Sector Experience in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Report prepared by Rigoberto Ariel Yépez-García & Julie Dana, revised & edited by Norma Adams (Washington DC: World Bank, 2012, paper US\$ 25.95)
- Room for Development: Housing Markets in Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by César Patricio Bouillon (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, paper US\$ 38.00)
- From Right to Reality: Incentives, Labor Markets, and the Challenge of Universal Social Protection in Latin America and the Caribbean*, by Helena Ribe, David A. Robalino & Ian Walker (Washington DC: World Bank, 2012, paper US\$ 39.95)
- China and Latin America and the Caribbean: Building a Strategic Economic and Trade Relationship*, by Osvaldo Rosales & Mikio Kuwayama

- (Santiago, Chili: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, United Nations, 2012, paper US\$ 25.00)
- Caribbean Community: The Struggle for Survival*, edited by Kenneth Hall & Myrtle Chuck A Sang ([n.p.]: Trafford on Demand Publishing, 2012, paper US\$ 23.00)
- Let Spirit Speak! Cultural Journeys through the African Diaspora*, by Vanessa K. Valdés (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012, paper US\$ 19.95)
- Christianity in Suriname: An Overview of its History, Theologians and Sources*, by Franklin Steven Jabini (Carlisle, U.K.: Langham Monographs, 2012, paper US\$ 39.99)
- The New Orleans Sisters of the Holy Family: African American Missionaries to the Garifuna of Belize*, by Edward T. Brett (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012, paper US\$ 30.00)
- Latin American Popular Culture since Independence: An Introduction*, edited by William H. Beezley & Linda A. Curcio-Nagy (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012, paper US\$ 35.00) [includes a chapter on Trinidad and one on the Dominican Republic]
- Crafting Identities, Remapping Nationalities: The English-Speaking World in the Age of Globalization*, edited by Cécile Coquet-Mokoko & Trevor Harris (Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2012, cloth US\$ 52.99) [2 chapters concern the Caribbean]
- Comparative Perspectives on Afro-Latin America*, edited by Kwame Dixon & John Burdick (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012, cloth US\$ 74.95) [includes one chapter on the Dominican Republic]
- United States Trade with the Caribbean Basin: Policies and Impacts*, edited by Valerie Tatum & Raphael F. Ponce (Hauppauge NY: Nova Science, 2012, cloth US\$ 125.00)
- Conversations Across our America: Talking about Immigration and the Latinoization of the United States*, by Louis G. Mendoza (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012, paper US\$ 24.95)
- Black Subjects in Africa and its Diasporas: Race and Gender in Research and Writing*, edited by Benjamin Talton & Quincy T. Mills (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, cloth US\$ 85.00) [includes chapters on Trinidad and Cuba]
- Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period: Regulating Selves and Others*. edited by Susan Broomhall & Jacqueline Van Gent (Farnham, U.K.:

- Ashgate, 2011, cloth US\$ 124.95) [only two chapters of Caribbean interest, on Moravians and Protestant missions]
- Women's Identities and Bodies in Colonial and Postcolonial History and Literature*, edited by María Isabel Romero Ruiz (Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2012, cloth US\$ 52.99) [2 chapters concern the Caribbean]
- Perspectives on the Educational Experiences of African/Caribbean Boys*, by Nisheet Gosai (Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, cloth US\$ 59.99) [about the U.K.]
- Cuba: Arte contemporáneo / Contemporary Art*, by Andreas Winkler & Sebastiaan A.C. Berger (New York: Overlook Press, 2012, paper US\$ 40.00)
- Marronnage and Arts: Revolts in Bodies and Voices*, edited by Stéphanie Melyon-Reinette (Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2012, cloth US\$ 67.99)
- Social Relations and the Cuban Health Miracle*, by Elizabeth Kath (Piscataway NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2010, cloth US\$ 49.95)
- Blind over Cuba: The Photo Gap and the Missile Crisis*, by David M. Barrett & Max Holland (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012, paper US\$ 29.95)
- The Cuban Missile Crisis in American Memory: Myths versus Reality*, by Sheldon M. Stern (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2012, paper US\$ 24.95)
- Blue Moon over Cuba: Aerial Reconnaissance during the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by William B. Ecker & Kenneth V. Jack (Oxford: Osprey, 2012, paper US\$ 26.95)
- Talk at the Brink: Deliberation and Decision during the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by David R. Gibson (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 35.00)
- The Fourteenth Day: JFK and the Aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis*, by David G. Coleman (New York: Norton, 2012, cloth US\$ 25.95)
- The Soviet Cuban Missile Crisis: Castro, Mikoyan, Kennedy, Khrushchev, and the Missiles of November*, by Sergo Mikoyan, edited by Svetlana Savranskaya (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 65.00)
- Our Man in Haiti: George de Mohrenschildt and the CIA in the Nightmare Republic*, by Joan Mellen (Waterville OR: Trine Day, 2012, paper US\$ 19.95) [a JFK conspiracy book, about Oswald, the CIA, and Haiti]

- The Capacity to Share: A Study of Cuba's International Cooperation in Educational Development*, edited by Anne Hickling-Hudson, Jorge Corona González & Rosemary Preston (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$ 85.00)
- Fidel Castro's Childhood: The Untold Story*, by Steven Walker (Leicester, U.K.: Matador, 2012, paper £11.99)
- Mon associé Fidel Castro: Récit de l'incroyable aventure d'un Français à Cuba*, by Michel Villand & Francis Matéo (Paris: Max Milo, 2012, paper €19.00)
- Raúl Castro and Cuba: A Military Story*, by Hal Klepak (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$ 85.00)
- Havana Revisited: An Architectural Heritage*, edited by Cathryn Griffith (New York: Norton, 2010, cloth US\$ 49.95)
- Media, Sound, and Culture in Latin America and the Caribbean*, edited by Alejandra Bronfman & Andrew Grant Wood (Pittsburgh PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012, paper US\$ 24.95) [a single chapter on Cuba, not much else specifically Caribbean]
- Red Racisms: Racism in Communist and Post-Communist Contexts*, by Ian Law (Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, cloth US\$ 90.00) [only a little on Cuba]
- The African Presence in Santo Domingo*, by Carlos Andújar (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2012, paper US\$ 19.95)
- Puerto Rico: Status and Economic Development Outlook*, edited by Fernando Ortega & Hugh D'Agati (New York: Nova Science, 2012, cloth US\$ 95.00)
- Historia de las Antillas no hispanas*, edited by Ana Crespo Solana & Dolores González-Ripoll (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2012, paper €35.00)
- Histoire d'Haiti: La première République noire du Nouveau Monde*, by Catherine Eve Roupert (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 2011, paper €23.00)
- Haitian Vodou: An Introduction to Haiti's Indigenous Spiritual Traditions*, by Mambo Chita Tann (Woodbury MN: Llewellyn, 2012, paper US\$ 15.95)
- Haiti: Earthquake and Response*, edited by Rachael A. Donlon (New York: Nova Science, 2012, cloth US\$ 137.00)
- Earthquake in Haiti: Aftermath Conditions and Crisis Response*, edited by Irene M. Falchin (New York: Nova Science, 2012, cloth US\$ 95.00)
- Haitian Creole-English / English-Haitian Creole Practical Dictionary*, by Charmant Theodore (New York: Hippocrene, 2012, paper US\$ 19.95)



*Trois ans à la Guadeloupe: Lettres d'Eugène Berthot à son épouse demeurée en France (1843-1846)*, by Claude Thiébaud, texte établi, présenté et annoté par Jacques Résal & Claude Thiébaud (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012, paper €36.20)

*Portraits de Guadeloupe*, by Emelyne Médina-Defays (Paris: HC Editions, 2011, paper €24.90)

*Le grand livre de la biodiversité de la Guadeloupe et de la Martinique*, by Lyne-Rose Beuze & Grégory Guida (Paris: HC Editions, 2011, paper €39.90)

*Public Health in the British Empire: Intermediaries, Subordinates, and the Practice of Public Health, 1850-1960*, edited by Ryan Johnson & Amna Khalid (London: Routledge, 2012, cloth US\$ 125.00) [one chapter on Barbados, another on Jamaica]

*Memoirs of a Jamaican Media Man*, by Carey Robinson (Kingston: LMH Publishing, 2012, paper US\$ 21.95)

*Son of Barbados: A Canadian Journey. A Biography of Eric Murray*, by Jessima Murray (Richmond Hill ON, Canada: Xulon Press, 2012, cloth US\$ 22.99) [by the widow of a Canadian journalist]

*The Yale University Excavations in Trinidad of 1946 and 1953*, by Arie Boomert, Birgit Faber-Morse, Irving Rouse et al. (New Haven CT: Yale University Publications in Anthropology 92, 2012, cloth US\$ 85.00)

*The Morphosyntax of Reiteration in Creole and Non-Creole Languages*, edited by Enoch O. Aboh, Norval Smith & Anne Zribi-Hertz (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012, cloth US\$ 158.00)

*Burst of Breath: Indigenous Ritual Wind Instruments in Lowland South America*, edited by Jonathan David Hill & Jean-Pierre Chaumeil (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011, paper US\$ 45.00) [includes a couple of chapters on the Guianas]

Finally, we note several new editions of previously published works:

*Tracing Your Caribbean Ancestors: A National Archives Guide*, by Guy Granum. (London: Bloomsbury, 2012, paper US\$ 27.95) [third edition, aimed at a U.K. readership]

*Revolution of Forms, Updated Edition, Cuba's Forgotten Art Schools*, by John A. Loomis (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011, paper US\$ 29.95)

- Obama and the Empire*, by Fidel Castro (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 2012, paper US\$ 15.95) [second edition]
- Riding & Roping: The Memoirs of J. Will Harris*, by J. Wills Harris (San Juan: Editorial Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, 2012, paper n.p.) [memoirs of the founder of the university, first published in 1977, now republished upon the institution's 100th anniversary]
- Power Game*, by Perry Henzell (the director of *The Harder They Come*) (Oxford: Macmillan, 2009, paper US\$ 15.00) [reprint in the Caribbean Writers series of Henzell's 1982 roman à clef about 1970s Jamaica]
- Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way*, by Gustavo Pérez Firmat (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012, US\$ 24.95) [updated edition of a 1994 book]
- Exile and Post-1946 Haitian Literature: Alexis, Depestre, Ollivier, Laferrière, Danticat*, by Martin Munro (Liverpool University Press, 2012, paper £19.99) [paperback reprint]
- Latin American and Caribbean Artists of the Modern Era: A Biographical Dictionary of More than 12,700 Persons*, by Steve Shipp (Jefferson NC: Mcfarland, 2012, paper US\$ 75.00) [reprint of a 2003 publication]
- Through the Caribbean: The MCC tour of the West Indies, 1959-1960*, by Alan Ross (London: Faber & Faber, 2012, paper £15.00) [reprint of the 1986 edition of this classic of cricket writing]
- Peuple Saramaka contre État du Suriname: Combat pour la forêt et les droits de l'homme*, by Richard Price (Paris: IRD/Karthala, 2012 [French edition of *Rainforest Warriors*, with a new afterword by the author])

## Book Reviews

*The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights.* Robin Blackburn. London: Verso, 2011. x + 498 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95)

In the 1980s and 1990s Robin Blackburn published two landmark studies of American slavery that dealt respectively with its rise and demise. In this new book, he revisits these subjects and loosely links them, in a brief epilogue, to the emergence of the idea of human rights. Besides synthesizing the two earlier syntheses, *American Crucible* extends their coverage beyond 1850 to incorporate slave emancipation in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil, drawing on a wealth of recent scholarship on slavery from ancient times onward. Blackburn delimits three eras in the New World history of slavery. Omitting the ephemeral but significant flourishing of the sugar plantation in sixteenth-century Hispaniola, he describes a “baroque” or “household” period focused on precious metals that lasted until around 1650. A colonial, mercantilist phase followed, centered on sugar and tobacco, which gave way after 1800 to a final, industrial phase based on cotton and coffee. By then, most slaves lived in postcolonial states where slaves were a minority but slaveholding was widespread. American slavery, he argues, fed off the growth of European wage labor and a shift to mass market, low-price commerce. Slavery, in turn, promoted industrialization by providing capital, markets, and raw materials, and by encouraging a consumerism driven by “craving for exotic luxuries” (p. 17) that encouraged workers to submit to productivity-boosting work regimes.

The challenge to slavery, too, came in three phases. First, an antislavery critique developed into a movement under the influence of the Industrial and American revolutions, but was stifled by the conservative reaction to the French Revolution. There followed the “Haitian pivot,” to which Blackburn devotes a hundred pages, that led on to the “age of abolition,” which occupies nearly half of the book. Lightly mocking the “latent virtue” (p. 26) interpretations that make Protestantism, patriotism, or capitalism the key

factor in ending slavery, Blackburn lays greatest emphasis on political crises, slave resistance, and class struggle.

This choice is most convincing in the case of the French emancipations of 1793-94. Slave resistance is rightly given pride of place, but the importance of the outbreak of war in 1793 (another necessary but insufficient cause) is in my view understated, as is the contribution of abolitionist Léger Sonthonax relative to that of Toussaint Louverture (Geggus 2010). Marred by minor errors, the Haitian Revolution section looks rather hastily written. The insurgent leader Jean Pierrot is confused with future president Louis Pierrot, the white Pierre Garnot with *mulâtre* Jean-Baptiste Mills, Denmark Vesey with Gabriel Prosser, and (very stable) Antigua with (revolutionary) Grenada. Toussaint Louverture's (second) wife was not a slaveowner but a slave, and she hardly became "a public figure" (p. 208). Non-white militia officers did not become more numerous after 1770; they disappeared. The British did not lose 40,000 troops in Saint Domingue; they sent barely 27,000 there. And they did not free slaves and enlist them, but rather enlisted slaves offering eventual freedom. The May 15 law concerned children of free parents, not parents born on French soil. The Platons rebellion occurred ten months after the great northern uprising, not eight months before it. No journalists or lawyers signed Haiti's declaration of independence.

Concerned that revisionist critiques of Haiti's revolution exaggerate its violence, Blackburn leans in the other direction, and barely alludes to events like the War of the South. Contesting the surely incontestable description of the postindependence massacres as "quasi-genocidal" (p. 212)—they were intended to eliminate the remaining French—he justifiably stresses the comparable crimes Europeans had committed during the revolution, but seeks to downplay the numbers involved and then veers off course mixing up the country's two declarations of independence, one deceptive, the other bloodcurdling. Although neither of these documents mentions rights, Blackburn insists that the Haitian Revolution "radicalized the rights of man" (pp. 197, 200). It did so, however, only in the sense of extending to the colonies slave emancipation and racial equality (which were achieved in France independently of colonial events). Other rights fared badly in the colonies. The regimes of Louverture, Jean-Jacques Dessalines, and Henry Christophe were built on forced labor, dictatorial power, and suppression

of Vodou, not political, economic, and religious freedom (Geggus 2012). This is surely why Robert Palmer largely (though not “entirely” [p. 176]) omitted Haiti from *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*.

*American Crucible* extends earlier arguments about Haiti’s contribution to ending slavery elsewhere. Besides inspiring slavery’s opponents, strengthening fear of slave resistance, and providing aid to Simón Bolívar, it “became an element” in the Confederate states’ decision to secede (p. 248). The widespread role of free colored abolitionists is also emphasized; so is the way that “racial democracy” worked to limit their threat in Latin America. Emancipation was gradual or small-scale in the Spanish American republics but it was important, Blackburn argues, because it preempted an expansion of slavery there during the era of free trade and because the Mexican lands annexed by the United States helped fuel the free soil debate that led to the Civil War. In Cuba, Brazil, and the United States, the slave system was so valuable that governments could not afford to pay compensation for its abolition. Slaves in the United States benefited least from emancipation owing to the Jim Crow regime that followed. (Perhaps also because the material conditions of slavery had been better there?) Yet in the late nineteenth century freedmen everywhere encountered worsening racial exclusion, to which paternalist abolitionists frequently accommodated.

In fourteen chapters, Blackburn lays out a vast panorama of development over four centuries that is studded with surprising details and insightful comparisons. The analysis is sophisticated, the writing fluent, and the breadth of learning extraordinary. Although the slave trade statistics deployed are somewhat outdated, the bibliographical coverage seems in general remarkably current. As in much recent work, the treatment of Haiti, I feel, errs toward apologetics and celebration, but many will doubtless disagree. The post-1850 section, Blackburn tells us, is but a “scouting expedition” offering “tentative interpretations” (p. 25). Fortunately, there is more to come.

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*Rainforest Warriors: Human Rights on Trial.* Richard Price. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. viii + 276 pp. (Paper US\$ 27.50)

*Rainforest Warriors* is a compelling account of a landmark series of precedents in international adjudication. Richard Price tells the riveting story of courageous petitions by the Suriname Maroons (particularly Saamakas) against the Republic of Suriname for violating their territorial and corporate rights as a self-determining tribal people.<sup>1</sup> This well-documented book draws on Price's comprehensive grasp of the history, ethnography, and political ecology of Maroons in Suriname and in neighboring French Guiana, where a third of the Saamaka population lives in exile.

Price disproves the Suriname government's accusation that the expert testimony he contributed to the 1992 and 2007 Inter-American Court of Human Rights hearings is "totally outdated... and legally unfounded" (p. 151). Despite being expelled from the country in 1986 (when the six-year civil war started) and denied entry since then, Price's achievements as a documentarian, analyst, and writer attest to his continuing commitment to ethnographic witnessing and advocacy for Saamakas and other Maroons. Toward these ends, he shifted his fieldwork to French Guiana, where Saamakas, Ndyukas, and other Maroons live as transnationals maintaining ties with their home territories—the source of their spiritual strength and communal identity.

The book begins with the early history of *grand marronage* in Dutch Guiana (Suriname), the 1762 peace treaty after a century-long guerrilla war, and the ethnogenesis of a culturally distinctive way of life. The story continues in the second half of the twentieth century with the incidents and crises that prompted Maroons to take their fight from the rainforest to the courts. Price sets the historical stage for elucidating Maroon experiences in Suriname and French Guiana, where Maroons have migrated in a circulatory pattern for more than a century.

Key to his analysis is the historical and spiritual ecology that laid the basis for sustainable patterns of subsistence and resource management. He builds much of his argument around the contrast between the Saamakas'

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<sup>1</sup> Editors' note. The people who had been known in the literature as Saramaka recently decided that they wish to be known as Saamaka, corresponding to their own pronunciation. Their decision came too late to be included in the English-language version of this book but it is respected in the French translation of 2012.



ritualized relationship to the environment and the destructive resource exploitation that the state and transnational corporations promote in their relentless pursuit of development at the expense of Maroon and indigenous wellbeing. He also contrasts flagrant, direct human rights violations with more subtle, indirect assaults on human dignity. The Afobaka dam project implemented in the late 1950s and early 1960s is the epitome of the former. It was undertaken without the consent or consultation of the Saamakas, half of whose territory was submerged by the artificial lake. The Saamakas have still not recovered from the massive loss of property and diminished subsistence security.

Price argues that the predicament of Saamaka exiles in French Guiana is characterized by indirect assaults on their human dignity rather than direct assaults on their sovereignty. Despite being relegated to menial work and squalid living conditions, and being denied an official refugee status, they have maintained their dignity. While Price acknowledges that the notion of human dignity undergirds human rights law, he does not examine the status of the servile work and squalid living conditions he describes within that body of law. Indignities of this sort can be interpreted as breaches of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and of other instruments protecting migrants and refugees. However, the social and political life of human rights depends on discursive and politico-legal claims and not just abstract categorizations. As the Saamakas themselves perceive their lived reality and determine which objectives are claimable as rights, assaults on dignity in French Guiana are a lower priority than the sacred rights to territorial property and sovereignty.

The remaining parts the book focus on the cases brought to trial and the circumstances leading up to them. The first two responded to the most brutal incidents during the civil war: the 1987 Aloeboetoe incursion and the 1986 Moiwana village massacre. Petitions submitted to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights eventually led to the court hearings and judgments for *Aloeboetoe v Suriname* (1993) and *Moiwana v Suriname* (2005). These cases cleared the ground for *The Saramaka People v. Suriname* (2007, 2008), which transcended the limits of the earlier judgments by more fully addressing the corporate rights of Maroons as tribal peoples. The case articulated the Saamakas' grievances against encroachments on their territory in the 1990s. At issue were the government's granting of concessions to transnational logging companies without prior consultation with or consent from Saamaka authorities; and the environmentally destructive

logging, which deprived Maroons of their property and livelihoods. The court decided that the Saramakas have corporate rights and legal personality, the right to manage and control their territory according to customary practices, and the right to “enjoy their own social, cultural and economic development” (p. 235). The State was ordered to rewrite its laws so that the Saamakakas can be granted collective title to their territory. The government was also ordered to establish a community development fund amounting to US\$ 675,000.

*Rainforest Warriors* is an excellent treatment of the Saramakas’ struggle for collective human rights (as well as that of the Ndyukas in *Moiwana*). The thorough analysis of the entire process of petitioning and adjudication—from the applications to the court, pre-hearing pleadings, and hearings to the judgments and the final monitoring phase—presents a level of detail and insight rare in the human rights literature. Despite the court’s decision not to rule on the extant legality of the Treaty of 1762 nor to render a legal analysis of the ongoing social suffering and economic injustices that stem from the consequences of dam development, *The Saramaka People* is a landmark case. The 2012 French edition of the book (*Peuple Saramaka contre Etat du Suriname: Combat pour la forêt et les droits de l’homme*. Paris: IRD/Karthala) contains an updated and expanded afterword detailing the Republic’s repeated repudiation of the court judgment. Such flagrant disregard for international law raises the question of whether human rights courts have the clout to hold states and transnational corporations accountable to their mandates.

This book has important implications for advocacy and for new directions of scholarship on human rights, the state, development, environmental justice, Maroon and indigenous peoples, and non-tribal Afro-descendant communities at risk of being displaced from ancestral lands. Awarded the 2012 Best Book Prize for Human Rights by the American Political Science Association and the 2012 Senior Book Prize of the American Ethnological Society, *Rainforest Warriors* is a contribution of considerable transdisciplinary significance.

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*Napoleon's Atlantic: The Impact of Napoleonic Empire in the Atlantic World.* Christophe Belaubre, Jordana Dym & John Savage (eds.). Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 2010. xvi + 332 pp. (Cloth € 99.00)

*Napoleon's Atlantic* is the English translation of the proceedings of a symposium entitled "*l'Atlantique napoléonien*" organized at the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail in 2007, which were first published in French in 2009. As the French title—*Napoléon et les Amériques: Histoire atlantique et empire napoléonien*—more accurately conveys, the book's scope is not fully Atlantic: apart from a mention of the Egyptian campaign in the introduction, Africa is nowhere, and Europe does not occupy center stage. Instead, the collected essays focus on the impact of the Napoleonic Empire on the Americas, already a fully legitimate and very ambitious project.

Napoleonic studies in France have been largely limited to the impact of the Napoleonic Empire in Europe. In the same way, historians of Latin American independence movements who are increasingly exploring the connections between the various revolutions in the Atlantic world have paid little attention in recent times to the specific influence exercised by the Napoleonic regime. Thus, the book aims at changing both the spatial and the chronological framework of Napoleonic studies and of Atlantic history in the era of revolutions. It is also an attempt at connecting the two fields.

The book's title is also misleading in another way, since the collection of fourteen essays does not cover the whole Napoleonic period, but focuses on the decades following 1804, after Napoleon's imperial coronation and the quasi-disappearance of the French Atlantic empire with the failure of the Leclerc expedition, the Louisiana purchase, and Haitian independence. The extension of the chronological framework beyond 1815, intended to demonstrate that the impact of the Napoleonic regime endured after his fall, has been made to the detriment of the Consulate. The book's Napoleonic Empire thus has no colonial or postcolonial dimension: no chapter is devoted to Saint-Domingue/Haiti, and the French Lesser Antilles are only briefly taken into account in John Savage's contribution.

Rather than "the direct and indirect consequences of France's substantial retreat from an Atlantic presence after 1804/1805" (p. 7), the book is concerned above all with the direct and indirect consequences outside Europe of the French invasion of the Iberian peninsula, and with the influence of the Napoleonic regime on Latin American independence movements

and subsequent republics. The whole would have been more coherent if the editors had not included the two chapters which have nothing to do with these questions: Luca Codignola's contribution on the reactions of the "North Atlantic Catholic community" to Napoleon's policy toward the Church and the pope, and Jean-Marc Olivier's essay on Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, who refused his appointment as governor of Louisiana before the colony was sold to Thomas Jefferson.

Most of the other essays deal with Brazil and Spanish America or its (former) borderlands. There is a strong emphasis on the greater Caribbean, with half the contributions focusing on Central America, Gran Colombia, Cuba, Louisiana, and Texas. Topics addressed by this collection of essays include the motivations of sugar planters in Cuba or of *Indiano* bureaucrats in Spain to join or not to join Napoleon's side (Dominique Goncalvès and Víctor Peralta Ruiz); the reporting of Latin American events in the French press (Felipec Angulo Jaramillo); the fear of French emissaries in Central America (Timothy Hawkins); the political activism and cultural influence of French expatriates after Napoleon's fall (Christophe Beleauvre, Rafe Blaufarb, Lilia Moritz Schwartz, and Roderick Barman); the intrusion of the militaries, following Napoleon's model, in the political field (Mónica Ricketts); and the impact of the Napoleonic Code (John Savage). Their insistence on the circulation of people, information, and ideas complies with Atlantic history's methodology. Apart from contributions by Matt Childs and Nathalie Dessens on the Saint-Domingue refugees' expulsion from Cuba and their relocation on Louisiana, however, they all focus on white elites.

In fact, Childs's essay on the little-known riots of free people of color against French émigrés in Cuba in 1809 is one of the two best chapters of the book. It deconstructs the narratives by the State and the Church to explain why the rioters who returned stolen goods were not prosecuted. The two institutions interpreted the event differently, but "both accounts deemphasized the role played by people of color in the riots and attempted to criminalize what might have developed into broader political activity" (p. 134). If the rioters' motivations are impossible to recover with certainty, the fact that one of their leaders later participated in the Aponte rebellion in 1812 could be a sign of a real political and revolutionary agenda.

Another fascinating chapter is the one by John Savage on the impact of Napoleonic laws in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world. Drawing mostly on the two cases of Gran Colombia and Louisiana, but alluding to Chile,

Argentina, Haiti, and Canada, Savage explores the various domestic and international motivations in the recourse to the Napoleonic legal model, emphasizing rupture with the colonial past and state consolidation. He also demonstrates that the adoption of Napoleon's Civil Code implied a process of accommodation initially and over time to fit the local political agendas and social and economic situations, especially regarding property, including property in humans. Thus, far from being only the vehicle of liberal ideas, the Napoleonic Code in its Atlantic expansion was also an instrument of imperial designs.

Globally, the book is an interesting attempt to draw attention to some neglected transatlantic dynamics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It should be recommended to graduate students and scholars interested in Napoleonic Empire, Atlantic Revolutions, Latin American independence movements, and Caribbean Studies.

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*The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment.* Andrew S. Curran. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011. xiv + 310 pp. (Cloth US\$ 76.00)

The biological discourse of race that emerged in Europe in the mid-1700s influenced Western writing about human diversity for more than two centuries. Recent years have seen a growing recognition of the French Enlightenment's puzzling legacy in this area. *Philosophes* criticized slavery's inhumanity yet they invented and publicized the racial concepts that justified enslaving Africans. Among those publishing in this field, Andrew Curran is unique for his focus on racial "science." As a literary scholar he concentrates almost exclusively on texts published in French, including work by prominent Dutch and German figures, but few Britons. His close attention to the ethnographic and anatomical construction of the concept of the *nègre* is both a strength and a weakness of this valuable study.

Chapter 1 surveys European ethnographic writing about Africa from the 1450s to the 1750s. For Curran the critical period in this literature was from 1670 to 1730, when a handful of French authors, mostly missionaries, published descriptions of the captive Africans they had encountered in the Caribbean. The Dominican Father Labat, who wrote about managing a sugar plantation in Martinique, eventually published three books about Africa based on the work of other travelers. These texts helped redefine the word *nègre* from "dark-skinned African" to "slave," raising the essential question eighteenth-century Europeans asked about blackness: were Africans made to be enslaved?

Chapter 2 introduces the Comte de Buffon, the leading biologist of the Enlightenment. Many proslavery writers claimed human races sprang from different origins, justifying their belief that Africans but not Europeans were ideal for plantation slavery. Like these authors, Buffon relied on other peoples' descriptions of Caribbean and African societies, as well as the claims of anatomists who dissected African cadavers looking for the physical essence of blackness. But he rejected the word "race," maintaining that humans come from a common ancestor, with "varieties" caused by environmental adaption. Buffon used his observations of two African-descended children with albinism to argue that humanity's original color was white. Africans only differed from Europeans physically and culturally because tropical climates had caused "degeneration."

Chapter 3 describes how writers who accepted Buffon's ideas of a common human ancestor nevertheless came to believe that humans fall into essential racial types. Buffon's concept of whites "degenerating" into blacks helped inspire anatomists to catalog the differences between these groups. In 1755, for example, Johann Meckel announced that the internal organs and bodily fluids of Africans were darker than those of Europeans. Then in 1768, the Dutch armchair geographer Cornelius de Pauw injected these anatomical "facts" into colonial discourse. Best known for his influential opinions on the physical degeneracy of New World natives, De Pauw described the internal anatomy of Africans not as symptoms of climatic adaptation but as evidence of a quasi-permanent and pathological state. Curran shows how by the 1770s popular science books, including many articles of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, treated Buffon's idea of "degeneration" as proof of African inferiority.

Chapter 4 follows this emerging notion of a separate "black race" into the era of the Haitian Revolution. Buffon stressed the flexibility of human varieties, maintaining that environmental conditions could eventually turn "whites" into "blacks" and vice versa. In the 1770s anatomists continued to "prove" that blacks and whites differed internally in ways that climate could not easily explain. In the 1770s and 1780s a number of writers published full-blown racial typologies. Yet at the same time a few French political economists and literary figures began to condemn the inefficiency and inhumanity of Caribbean slavery. Curran shows that many multi-author works of this period, like Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, offered widely divergent accounts of blackness, from proslavery, multiple-origin articles to idealistic visions of postemancipation societies.

Curran moves rapidly through the events surrounding the Haitian Revolution. While so-called *négrophile* writers and activists achieved some political stature in France in the 1790s, the victory of Saint-Domingue's black armies over France in 1802 solidified the increasingly zoological rhetoric in Europe about Africans and their descendants. Ex-planters used the biological "facts" advanced in the 1770s to validate their narratives of the Revolution, their justifications of slavery and their plans to re-subjugate Saint-Domingue.

*The Anatomy of Blackness* chronicles the development of Enlightened racial thought like no other book in the disciplines of history or Franco-phone studies. It reveals how contradictions and ambiguities over race and



slavery in the writing of figures like Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot were produced by tensions between their understandings of “natural law” and “natural history.”

Curran’s book, in itself, does not explain the Enlightenment’s puzzling mix of racism and antislavery. He recognizes that Atlantic conditions influenced his writers, who mostly relied on others for cultural and medical data. Yet after 1730 he pays little attention to colonial politics or seismic events like the Seven Years’ War. He calls his anatomists “apolitical” but it seems likely that non-scientific concerns helped to produce De Pauw’s 1768 concept of hereditary and pathological “blackness.” Why was it that 1769 was the year when French antislavery literature began to emerge? And that 1770 witnessed a wave of new laws segregating whites and free people of color in Saint-Domingue? Curran shows us the development of a racial science that became central to Western understandings of human diversity. But he does not expose the forces that shaped the trajectory of that science, nor why it was that some men and women rose to oppose it when they did.

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*In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World.* Judith A. Carney & Richard Nicholas Rosomoff. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009. xvi + 280 pp. (Cloth US\$ 50.00; Paper US\$ 18.95; e-Book US\$ 50.00)

This new offering from Judy Carney builds on the same perspective on the Atlantic past as that in her prize-winning *Black Rice: the African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (2001). Her “black rice thesis” was developed from other scholars’ prior suggestions that West African slaves rather than European masters and overseers were to be credited for the successful development of rice plantations in the South Carolina low country. Carney drew on her strengths as a geographer to argue how people forced to migrate from a specific region in West Africa to early America had managed, despite their bondage, to transfer an entire cultural system that included seeds, skills, and smarts.

Carney writes here with her husband, Rich Rosomoff, an independent author and veteran co-traveler on her research trips. *In the Shadow of Slavery* reads as a broad application of the *Black Rice* argument to other plants as well as animals that could be used for food, and to places beyond the much-debated Upper Guinea-South Carolina nexus. But where the earlier book explained the development of rice as a North American cash crop, what is instead emphasized here is the significance of subsistence farming, first in tropical Africa and then in the New World. Carney and Rosomoff argue strongly that focusing on subsistence is needed to correct the “standard emphasis on commodities” (pp. 4-5)—which was, it must be said, in part created by the success of *Black Rice*. They celebrate Africans’ and then African Americans’ achievements in creating food security for themselves by themselves.

To do so, they first describe the dynamism of African foodways in the millennia before Columbus’s ocean crossings. In the deep past, Africans domesticated indigenous crops and animals before turning their attention to new alternatives originated from neighboring continents. Stressed is the sophistication of Africans, but ironically their bounty turned Africa into a breadbasket providing the provisions needed to sustain the fragile economics of the Middle Passage. Carney and Rosomoff argue, against a background of scarce evidence, that Africans liberated remaining stores from slave ships as they disembarked and entered American slaverries. These

smuggled samples of reproductive parts of African cultigens equipped African slaves and their descendants with the ability to recreate some aspects of their former lives of working, cooking, and eating.

Throughout, the authors synthesize a wide range of primary sources (especially those available in English) and scholarly secondary literature. Their sources for Africa tend toward gold-standard texts from the scholarly secondary literature of the 1970s, but also informed by judiciously selected research published in the last decade, none of it controversial. These conservative choices are likely to give longevity to the text's usefulness.

The highly readable prose—forgiving some repetitions and occasional novelistic flair—makes complicated issues accessible for those unfamiliar with the scholarly issues, and the text includes abundant illustrations from Atlantic-era books to engage non-specialists. Thus this book will find great utility for readers of the *NWIG* in any college-level topics courses they teach, for which they might assign the entire volume or select a relevant chapter or two. The recent release as an affordable paperback will help instructors adopt the text. (Puzzling is the high expense of the electronic version.)

Like *Black Rice*, this book has garnered acclaim, including a shared win of the 2010 Frederick Douglass Book Prize from Yale University's Gilder Lehrman Center for the best book written in English on slavery or abolition. Historians who raised questions about *Black Rice* will search the pages of *In the Shadow of Slavery* in vain for indications that they have been engaged (see, for example, Eltis, Morgan & Richardson 2007, 2010). But they are probably not the intended audience. Instead, Carney and Rosomoff are clear (p. 1) that they are addressing a "popular image" of Africa as a hungry continent and "perceptions of a continent populated by hapless farmers and herders in need of European instruction." These are old, but regrettably durable conceptualizations created and recreated by those outside of Africa in identifiable historical contexts (including the sort of Western liberalism that still brings some students into our courses because they want to "help save Africa").

Readers of the *NWIG* who wish to engage *In the Shadow of Slavery* as an intellectual project are recommended to read Carney's contemporary essay on geography as a research methodology (2010). It explains that geographers use the same sources as historians, anthropologists, or archaeologists, but can make distinctive "reasonable inferences" from gaps in the record, in ways that the others cannot. If geography, as defined by Carney,

cannot provide us with new information by way of new sources, it can prompt scholars to ask new questions that cannot yet be answered by data in the historical or archaeological records. Historians, linguistics, botanists, geneticists, archaeologists and others must do the spadework.

So Carney and Rosomoff should be praised for the questions they raise and for showing scholars some of the unanswered questions about the relationship between the environmental and cultural histories of Africans in the diaspora. They offer some new questions and answer many of these with new arguments, while simultaneously pushing the temporal boundaries of what humanistic geographers can pursue.

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*Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic.* Alan Rice. Liverpool, U.K.: Liverpool University Press, 2010. ix + 244 pp. (Cloth US\$ 95.00; 2012, paper US\$ 39.95)

With his new book on memorialization and the formation of transnational identities, Alan Rice makes an important contribution to the burgeoning field of Black Studies in Europe. He begins with a discussion of monuments that have recently been unveiled in Amsterdam, London, and Paris, in remembrance of their nations' slave trading histories. Although the slave past has received considerable public acknowledgement in the past two decades, Rice argues that simply building monuments is not enough to dispel a collective amnesia regarding slavery and its legacies in these former imperial centers. A self-proclaimed radical cultural historian (p. 9), he proposes a more active and political form of remembering, which he calls "guerrilla memorialization." The memorial that was erected in London in 2008 and the modest gravesite of "Sambo," an African boy who died shortly after his arrival in North England around 1736, are in his view more effective and moving than the national slavery monuments in Paris and Amsterdam, with their traditional broken-chain symbolism and linear narratives. Despite their obscure or remote locations, these local initiatives have resulted in more dynamic memorial sites that challenge viewers to question dominant historical narratives and actively engage with the complex stories these sites tell.

The London monument invites viewers to walk among its seventeen granite vertical structures, which represent sugar cane stems, or stand on the platform overlooking them—encouraging them to draw associations with a slave auction block, an abolitionist's lectern, or a pulpit, and to contemplate the multiple meanings of the monument's title, *Gilt of Cain*. At the same time, the monument's proximity to London's Financial District stimulates historical consciousness of the economics of chattel slavery and colonial exploitation and their contribution to present-day national wealth. Sambo's grave outside Lancaster similarly encourages a performative—and potentially transformative—engagement with the past. Rice recounts how, at least since the 1970s, local schoolchildren have made pilgrimages to this *lieu de mémoire* and left painted stones there, recalling the former slave port's willfully forgotten history that brought the enslaved boy to this isolated spot. His book's dustjacket shows a photograph of the small memorial

that was placed near the grave in 2009, a group of stones put on short bamboo stalks like a bunch of flowers and inscribed with messages from school-children. The coastal location enhances the symbolism of the stones, which are reminiscent of pebbles washed up on the beach and thereby link the gravesite and the nearby port city to the larger circum-Atlantic world.

The invocation of routes implied in the sugar cane and stone symbolism of these memorials shows how Rice anchors his study in Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic paradigm. He argues that "to fully interpret [the] Black Atlantic resonances" of these and other memorial sites requires a "transnational, oceanic scholarship" (p. 42). He criticizes the national commemorations of the abolition of the slave trade in 2007 that tended to venerate white British abolitionists and marginalize black contributions and agency. The local memorial projects he focuses on challenge narrow notions of Britishness and heritage, aiming to make visible the black presence and tell "the complex story of trade and empire" to which that presence testifies (p. 58). Central to Rice's book is the work of African-born and Lancashire-based artist Lubaina Himid, whose art installations reinsert the "invisibilized" black presence (Himid's term, p. 25): by pasting a collaged image of a statue of Toussaint Louverture next to that of Nelson in Trafalgar Square in a guidebook of London and painting a vomiting black servant on the plate of the dinner service of a Lancaster merchant, Himid exposes what has been elided from these cities' memorial landscapes and histories and calls attention to black resistance.

Rice's interest in the memorial projects he analyzes is not merely academic. Living and teaching in Lancaster, he played a pioneering role in the Slave Trade Arts Memorial Project (STAMP), which successfully campaigned for a monument to raise public consciousness of the city's slave trading past. His insider's perspective is particularly illuminating in his discussion of curatorial debates about what objects to include—and leave out—at a commemorative exhibition at the Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester in 2007, of which he was a guest curator. The exhibition tried to tease out new meanings by juxtaposing objects, paintings, and music that could "speak" to each other in ironic or complementary ways. One of the colored illustrations in the book, for example, shows how the curators placed two landscapes by J.M.W. Turner, purchased and donated by Manchester cotton merchants, side by side with a daguerreotype of the black laborers that helped create the wealth that made their purchase possible.

Consciously or unconsciously, Rice's interdisciplinary method and the organization of his chapters seem to mimic the collage-like form and aesthetics that are characteristic of this exhibition and Himid's art work. Each chapter brings together memorials, works of art, music, literary texts, and historical figures and events. Though this assemblage can be a bit overwhelming, the rich texture of his book often leads to wonderful insights and the discovery of little-known events. We learn, for example, that Manchester workers strongly supported President Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation—against their own government's policy and despite the "cotton famine" the American Civil War caused in Britain's textile towns. Rice uses this story of interracial alliance and class solidarity mainly to posit a history of transatlantic radicalism, a utopian theme he develops in a later chapter. However, his brief discussion of the statue of Lincoln, erected in Manchester in 1919, and the controversy 80 years later when a plaque to Princess Diana was placed in front of it make me curious to learn more about the public debates that attended the establishment of these and other memorials and commemorations, including the national ones, which Rice perhaps dismisses too readily. Returning to his central idea of "guerrilla memorialization," he concludes that memorials are forged in battle. His erudite and passionately argued book might have been even more compelling and coherent if, instead of giving a somewhat obligatory reading of Toni Morrison's jazz aesthetic and a less relevant account of memorials against fascism in the second half of the book, he had dwelled longer on these public battles.

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*Proslavery Priest: The Atlantic World of John Lindsay, 1729-1788*. B.W. Higman. Kingston: University of West Press, 2011. xv + 334 pp.

During the past few years, the “Atlantic World” paradigm has produced many illuminating insights into the beliefs, behavior, and interactions of the peoples of the early modern worlds of Europe, the Americas, and West Africa. Barry Higman’s compelling study of the Reverend John Lindsay is an example of “Atlantic World” history at its very best.

Born in Scotland in 1729, the highly gifted Lindsay, who received his education at Edinburgh University where he was exposed to the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment, could have entered any profession he wished. He chose to enter the Anglican Church, and spent the early years of his career as a naval chaplain. His voyages took him to Ireland, the Americas, the Caribbean and, in 1758, to West Africa on a military mission, which he detailed in his *Voyage to the Coast of Africa*, published that same year.

Lindsay, who knew firsthand the “Atlantic World” infinitely better than most of his contemporaries, used not only his literary skills but also his talents as an amateur natural scientist and artist to describe this “World” to those contemporaries. By his choice of career, Lindsay would help to both shape and depict the “Atlantic World” of his day. As Higman so eloquently demonstrates, in his turn Lindsay would find himself being shaped by that “World.”

Because of his writings and artwork, Lindsay became reasonably well known in his day and, over the years, he has received some scholarly attention. Yet this is the first full-length biography, a task made all the more difficult by the fact that Lindsay did not leave a significant cache of personal papers. Higman has managed to track down, and make splendid use of, an impressively wide range of other sources that detail the course of Lindsay’s intellectual development. Toward the end of his life he came to defend what a growing number of his British and North American contemporaries, including some Anglican churchmen, had come to regard as indefensible: the racially-based slave systems of the Anglophone “Atlantic World” and the transatlantic slave trade that fuelled them.

As well as taking him to Senegal, Lindsay’s naval career also meant that he had witnessed firsthand the slave societies of Anglophone America. In his writings and artwork, he was far more interested in describing the natural history of those societies than he was in questioning the basis upon

which they were based and continued to flourish. If he had any misgivings about slavery and the slave trade, and there is no firm evidence that he did, then he kept them to himself. Of course, in this respect he was no different from the vast majority of Anglican churchmen. By the late seventeenth century, adopting a stance that persisted through the mid-eighteenth century, the Anglican hierarchy in London had concluded that, provided Christian owners attended to the spiritual and physical needs of their bond-people, slaveholding was perfectly legitimate. It was only in the sense of his perhaps unquestioning acceptance of this position that, for much of his life, Lindsay could be described as a "Proslavery Priest."

For all intents and purposes, Lindsay's conversion from complicity to a by no means easily constructed intellectual defense of slavery began in 1759, when he took up a living in St. Catherine's parish, Jamaica and, three years later, married into a prominent local family. For a while, the intellectually curious Lindsay put his literary and artistic talents to work depicting Jamaica's natural environment in publications destined for the British reading public. But by the mid-1770s he was applying his formidable intellect, and pen, to something else: trying to produce a convincing defense of slavery, an institution which, in a very real sense, he had married into. Lindsay could have remained silent but he chose not to: it was only during the last decade or so of his life that he became not only a proslavery priest, but a vocal proslavery priest.

By 1770, an ever-increasing assault on slavery and the slave trade was being launched on both sides of the Atlantic. Religious and economic arguments were deployed, as were the natural and moral rights arguments favored by the American "Patriots." Two events in particular in the mid-1770s persuaded Lindsay to enter the fray. One was Richard Nisbet's arguably crazed arguments trying to defend slavery, which he easily disposed of. The other, in 1776, was not so much the U.S. Declaration of Independence, with its assertions of equality, as a bloody slave uprising on his very doorstep, in Jamaica.

Lindsay's inherent racism combined with his arguably vested personal interest in the maintenance of slavery in some form to effectively rule out any possibility of his ever adopting an antislavery position. He consulted friends back at Edinburgh University and, in the years before his death in 1788, sought to square the circle by developing the idea of "amelioration," a proslavery argument that quickly became eminent sugar planters' favored

defense of their system and thereby, of course, of their privileged socio-economic status. For a while, at any rate, Jamaican planters had every reason to thank their proslavery priest, John Lindsay: he was indisputably their most influential theorist.

Higman has done a splendid job in using Lindsay as a lens through which to explore various intellectual currents of the eighteenth-century "Atlantic World," and particularly those that by mid-century were beginning to swirl around slavery and the slave trade. Impressively even-handed in his approach, he has produced a persuasive, and beautifully written, study that that will be of enormous interest to general readers and specialists alike for many years to come.

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*The Legacies of Caribbean Radical Politics.* Shalini Puri (ed.). London: Routledge, 2010. xix + 136 pp. (Cloth US\$ 125.00)

For those like myself old enough to have lived through the heyday of radical Anglo-Caribbean politics, Shalini Puri's valuable edited collection—based in part on an April 2009 conference at the University of Pittsburgh—will bring back many memories, not all of them happy ones. A generation of Anglo-Caribbean leftists were traumatized by the 1983 self-destruction of the Grenada Revolution, and though this disaster was thirty years ago, there is a sense in which the Anglo-Caribbean left has never recovered from it. It is not merely vanguardism that was discredited—arguably justifiably so—but the belief that radical egalitarian change was even possible. We live today in a post-Marxist and neoliberal world. Yet the manifest failure of neoliberalism to bring prosperity to the nations of the global South, even apart from the 2008 global meltdown from which we are still recovering (if we are), means that the issue of remedying systemic structural disadvantage is still very much on the agenda. As Puri comments in the doubly-signifying title of her introduction, “Legacies Left,” the collection is oriented toward both the past and the future, seeking to answer David Scott's question: How do we need to modify or translate the great modern theorists of revolution to speak to the considerably changed political landscape we inhabit today?

The essays cover considerable territory—the English, Spanish, French, and Dutch Caribbean, as well as Venezuela. Apart from Puri's useful introduction, there are ten articles and two photomontages, one by Annalee Davis (art installations and a still from a documentary video) and one by Kathy Sloane (women activists and workers in St. Lucia and Grenada, and children in a Grenada day care center).

In what is perhaps the standout piece of the collection, Rupert Roopnaraine offers a vivid personal and political recollection of the impact of the Grenada Revolution on the situation in his native Guyana and on Suriname, as well as a never before told recounting of his October 1983 trip to Grenada where he attempted to mediate between NJM factions in the days leading up to the disaster. Merle Collins likewise looks back on the Revolution, the internecine conflict, and its lessons for attempts to apply an orthodox “Marxism-Leninism” in the Grenadian context. Rafael Hernández and Rafael Rojas present divergent analyses of the Cuban Revolution,

with Hernández generally favorable while Rojas judges the regime to be totalitarian, resistant to a genuinely democratic socialism. Raphael Dal-  
leo's review essay of Dionne Brand's 1996 novel *In Another Place, Not Here* argues that it draws on both the experience of the Grenada Revolution and two traditions associated with the Cuban Revolution, *testimonio* and the personal "class suicide" of the intellectual. Anthony Bogues challenges orthodox left narratives of the 1938 Jamaican uprising, contending that the categories standardly employed do not acknowledge the subalterns' own conceptions of what they were doing. Sujatha Fernandes examines the role of media associations in Venezuela, and their attempts to advance a coalitional politics to support popular struggles as the Chávez government tries to maintain a socialist orientation within a neoliberal world. Norman Girvan analyzes the ways in which the 2008 negotiation of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) between the European Union (EU) and fifteen Caribbean nations unfairly advanced EU interests in an asymmetrically beneficial process, through the use of technical jargon, misleading representations of the agreement's likely benefits for the Caribbean, and the locking-in by international law of a severely limited range of Caribbean government choices. Alissa Trotz explores the ways in which the Guyanese women's organization, Red Thread, dealt with the devastating 2005 floods in the country, and the lessons thereby learned for mobilizing strategies. Finally, Yarimar Bonilla recounts the story of the 2009 Guadeloupean mass strike, the largest in the country's history, and its implications for rethinking future political alternatives.

As this all-too-brief summary indicates, the collection offers a rich panorama of subjects and reflections, though its cost will unfortunately put it out of reach for all except university libraries and university professors with book grants. (However, interested parties could consult instead the vol. 12, issue no. 1 of *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, of which the book is a reproduction.) Perhaps a minor quibble would be the absence of anything on Jamaica's "democratic socialist" experiment in the 1970s, or on the Trinidad and Tobago 1970 Black Power "February Revolution," both of which were also crucial to the radical politics of the time. But it might have been felt that these experiences have already been exhaustively analyzed. If any common theme emerges from the ten essays it is the importance of combining radical politics with democratic legitimization, as against a politics purportedly carried out in the name of the

people but not by the people themselves. To be fair, the left is not unique in having this problem, but because of the left's egalitarian pretensions, the seeming contradiction presents itself with particular sharpness here. At any rate, those wanting to develop the radical Caribbean legacy further will surely profit from reading this book, as will anybody, politically radical or not, interested in the politics and social movements of the region over the past few decades.

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*The Aftershocks of History*. Laurent Dubois. New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2012. 434 pp. (Cloth US\$ 32.00)

*The Aftershocks of History* is a beautifully written book on Haiti's predicament. It seeks to explain why Haiti has remained economically poor, politically unstable, and socially divided since its independence in 1804. Unlike many accounts that blame the country's problems on its allegedly backward African roots, it cogently makes the case that the weight of history is responsible for Haiti's travails. Rejecting quasi-racist cultural explanations, Laurent Dubois argues convincingly that

the true causes of Haiti's poverty and instability are not mysterious, and they have nothing to do with any inherent shortcomings on the part of the Haitians themselves. Rather, Haiti's present is the product of its history: of the nation's founding by enslaved people who overthrew their masters and freed themselves; of the hostility that this revolution generated among the colonial powers surrounding the country; and of the intense struggle within Haiti itself to define that freedom and realize its promise. (p. 4)

Dubois thus writes about the most critical moments in Haiti's history. He explains how and why slaves organized, fought, and won their liberty and independence at the turn of the nineteenth century. He analyzes the contradictions of this victory and shows how the legacy of the plantation economy rooted in slave labor in the age of colonial racism undermined Haiti's newly gained freedoms. Confronted with the harsh reality that their country's economy was thoroughly dependent on sugar, Haiti's founding fathers sought to maintain the plantation type of production and compel former slaves to accept a form of forced labor. But the return to the plantation system proved impossible once enslaved people had broken their chains. The attempt to curb people's freedoms led to popular resistance and to the development of the *Lakou* system whereby peasants living in households around a common yard maintained their autonomy and secured their access to land ownership. The rural majority continued to be excluded, however, from the moral community of the nation, which was firmly kept under the exploitative control of a predominantly city-based minority.

Since the nation's independence in 1804, peasant autonomy has always co-existed uneasily with a form of predatory rule. Dubois demonstrates that the legacy of revolutionary violence against white supremacy generated a



militaristic ethos as well as a profoundly hierarchic society. Officers were the great beneficiaries of the postrevolutionary period, as their control of the guns facilitated their acquisition of the best land, as well as wealth and power. While the armed forces became a prime arena for social and economic climbing, they were also the means of preserving the country's independence. In the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, Haitians lived in permanent fear of foreign invasions bent on re-establishing slavery. As the only successful slave revolution and the symbol of black freedom, Haiti was a "pariah state" facing continuous military and economic threats from imperial white supremacist powers.

From the very first days of the Republic, however, Haiti's rulers were prepared to compromise in order to gain international recognition. Eventually, in 1825, after compelling Haiti to pay a 150-million-franc indemnity, France acknowledged "the full and complete independence" of "the French part of the island of Saint-Domingue" (p. 99). The cost of such recognition was high; Haiti was forced to accumulate a massive debt that generated additional debts. Having defeated Napoleon's army, Haitians faced the humiliation of paying France for acknowledging their freedom.

This pattern of foreign impositions and intrusions reached its climax with the American occupation of the country from 1915 to 1934. Using the pretext of political instability and violence, the United States took over Haiti in its growing imperial drive throughout the Caribbean and Americas. While the United States built clinics and roads, it also encountered popular resistance to its rule. It used its superior military power to crush several guerrilla insurgencies ferociously; Haitians were simply not willing to put up with the indignities of American racism or the exploitative forced labor imposed on the peasantry by the occupiers. Paradoxically, the occupation bridged the cultural gap existing between Haiti's small educated elite and its poor majority. U.S. racism compelled the former to realize that it could not escape its African heritage and that it had to accept, if not espouse it. On the other hand, the American occupation consolidated both the centralization of state power and the determinative role of the military in Haitian politics.

At the end of their occupation in 1934, American forces left Haiti with a veneer of democratic rule that masked the continued rule of a small well-off urban class backed by the armed forces. This is not to say that reforms were not attempted, but rather that whenever they were on the agenda they

were smashed by the military and their privileged allies. As Dubois writes, "A decade after the departure of the United States, the political order was as closed to the majority of the population as ever" (p. 309).

In fact, this closure became systematic under the despotic rule of François Duvalier (*Papa Doc*) and his son, Jean-Claude. Marked by his use of terror, François Duvalier relied on the violence of his militia, the *Tontons Makouts*, to silence dissent and impose on Haitians his presidency for life as an "immaterial being" (Chapter 8). By destroying the country's economy and brutalizing its citizens, Duvalier's regime precipitated the massive exodus of Haitians. Upon his death in 1971, *Papa Doc*'s son, Jean-Claude, assumed power. He sought to curb the crude excesses of the *Makouts* and modernize the country. In close collaboration with the United States, he developed export industries based on ultracheap labor with the hope of transforming Haiti into a "new Taiwan." The experiment failed miserably. Not only did it aggravate social inequities and increase corruption, but it relied on the persistence of authoritarian rule. Ultimately, under growing popular pressures and revolts, Jean-Claude Duvalier was forced into exile in 1986.

The fall of the dictatorship generated national euphoria and hopes that Haiti would change dramatically. The *moun an deyò* (the marginalized majority) asserted its claim to full citizenship and joined *Lavalas* (the flood), as the movement of Jean-Bertrand Aristide was known. When Aristide was elected president in a landslide in 1991, the promise of popular empowerment had finally materialized. Tragically, the military and its privileged supporters quickly overthrew the new president, the prophet who had embodied popular aspirations. Facing internal and external pressures, growing corruption, and internecine struggles within *Lavalas* itself, Aristide's plans of reform fell apart even though he twice returned to power. In fact, his restoration to the presidency in 1994 with the help of 20,000 U.S. troops contradicted his anti-imperialist rhetoric and "helped establish a long-term foreign military presence in the country" (p. 363). Far from freeing Haiti from the control of the major powers and International Financial Institutions (IFIs), the contradictions leading to the fall and return of Aristide in the 1990s, as well as his second fall in 2004, aggravated the country's dependence on outsiders. His government had to accept a neoliberal program that devastated the country's agricultural sector, particularly its rice production (p. 363). Moreover, the neoliberal policies deepened the

country's reliance on Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), which received the bulk of foreign assistance to the detriment of the government. This strategy emasculated the state and left Haiti at the mercy of the international community.

This emasculation was painfully evident in the aftermath of the cataclysmic earthquake of January 12, 2010, which killed over 230,000 people and destroyed Port-au-Prince. While Haitians demonstrated an amazing resilience in the face of catastrophe, the government was powerless and utterly dependent on the good will of the international community. Again, as Dubois points out, Haitians were not really in charge of their own affairs and the aspirations of the great majority remained suppressed.

Dubois offers no easy solution for extricating Haiti from its current predicament. He dreams briefly of a future built on the revival and modernization of the agricultural *Lakou* system, and hopes that pride in the historic, "unthinkable" revolution of 1804 can give Haitians the strength and imagination to "buil[d] out of nothing [a] new and better world for themselves" (p. 370). After all, "if it happened once, it can happen again" (p. 370).

*The Aftershocks of History* is a sweeping and moving book that will enlighten both specialists and general readers as to how the burden of the past has had deleterious consequences for Haiti's development. Dubois is a brilliant and prolific historian. His *Avengers of the New World* (2005) is a splendid account of the Haitian Revolution. Now, his new book deepens our understanding of the country's trajectory. Let us hope that he will soon produce another volume covering in depth what is only adumbrated in *The Aftershocks of History*—a discussion about the vicissitudes of *Lavalassian* power and the way an immensely popular movement ultimately failed to fulfill its promise.

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*One Frenchman, Four Revolutions: General Ferrand and the Peoples of the Caribbean.* Fernando Picó. Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2011. viii + 160 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

From 1804 to 1808, the French General Louis Ferrand presided over a slave-holding regime in Santo Domingo (modern Dominican Republic) that bordered the new emancipationist nation of Haiti. In *One Frenchman, Four Revolutions*, Fernando Picó uses Ferrand's career and governance in Santo Domingo as a lens through which to better understand a dynamic late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Caribbean and Atlantic world of slave revolution, political upheaval, and re-enslavement. This pioneering work provides an important overview of a remarkably understudied episode in Caribbean history and also proposes several promising avenues for future research. It is written in an engaging style and draws upon a rich source base to offer important new insights.

In the opening chapter, Picó offers a concise and useful analysis of the importance of the Caribbean in eighteenth-century Atlantic geopolitics. The next chapter details the advent and course of the great slave revolution in Saint-Domingue during 1789-1804. In this informative account, Picó persuasively summarizes one of the most complex episodes in world history in a manner that will appeal to both specialists and students. The account nonetheless contains a few minor flaws, such as Picó's assertion that the French Civil Commissioners and architects of general emancipation in French Saint-Domingue, Léger-Félicité Sonthonax and Étienne Polverel, were sent by Paris to the island after the commencement of the Franco-Spanish-British war of 1793-95, when in fact they arrived on the island several months earlier—a crucial distinction given the importance of the relationship between the military situation on the island and the evolution of the Commissioners' public stance on slavery. Moreover, he claims that Sonthonax's watershed 29 August 1793 general emancipation decree stipulated "the emancipation of all slaves in Saint-Domingue" when in fact it only applied to slaves in the Northern Province (p. 25).

Chapter 3 provides a brief biography of Ferrand, highlighting his participation in the North American and French Revolutions and in the disastrous expedition of re-conquest that Napoleon deployed to Hispaniola in late 1801 and early 1802. In his discussion of Ferrand's flight from Saint-Domingue/Haiti in 1803 and his establishment as the leader of a fledgling

French regime in Santo Domingo, Picó seeks to explain one key reason for Ferrand's hatred of Haiti that would drive many of his policies. The Ferrand regime indeed continually engaged in conflicts with the nation on its western border, and Picó's discussion of Ferrand's 1805 battles against the forces of Jean-Jacques Dessalines is especially convincingly argued and well documented. In this chapter, Picó skillfully explains the military policies of the Ferrand regime within the contexts of the collapse of French rule and slavery in Haiti and the shifting geopolitics of the broader Caribbean and Atlantic. He does an admirable job of conveying that the Ferrand regime cannot be properly understood without reference to these contexts.

Chapter 4 presents an overview of the institutions, economy, and demography of Santo Domingo under Ferrand. Though this chapter achieves an impressive balance of breadth and attention to detail, it could have been even stronger had it explained some matters more fully. For instance, Picó asserts that a "strong proportion of slaves" emigrated from Santo Domingo after 1795 without offering a breakdown by provenance within the colony or (intended) destination (pp. 49-50). The racial terms used in the Ferrand government's 1808 census also require more analysis than is given here (pp. 62-63). Nonetheless, Picó's discussions of the establishment of a legal system that incorporated both French and Spanish elements and the sale of "slaves" from vessels that were captured or shipwrecked off Dominican coasts point to two important topics for future research; my own article in this journal (Nessler 2012) engages with the latter topic.

Chapters 5 and 6, which detail the fall of the Ferrand regime in 1808-9, constitute the book's strongest section. Picó situates the expulsion of the French from Santo Domingo within the broader contexts of the Peninsular War, the Franco-British rivalry, and Haiti's internal conflict. The quoted excerpts usefully convey a sense of different parties' perspectives on the conflict, while the transimperial analysis complements the scholarship of Ada Ferrer, Matt Childs, David Geggus, and others who have closely examined the effects of the Haitian Revolution on colonialism and slavery elsewhere in the hemisphere, including in the Spanish American independence wars. These chapters should inspire research that further examines the interrelationships between the French and Spanish imperial crises of the Haitian revolutionary era and the significance of the Ferrand episode for independence movements elsewhere in Latin America.

This informative volume could be usefully assigned to undergraduates in a Caribbean or Latin American history course, and as a reference it deserves a spot on the bookshelves of historians of the Caribbean. Its bibliography is fairly extensive, though it is missing some important newer scholarship on Saint-Domingue/Haiti and the Haitian Revolution by Laurent Dubois, John Garrigus, and other authors. Furthermore, its organization by country can hinder the reader's ability to quickly find a specific reference or to easily ascertain the presence of a specific author. Overall, the book represents a valuable contribution to the literature on Dominican, Haitian, and Caribbean history and should serve to foment further scholarship on a vital chapter in these histories.

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*The Black Musketeer: Reevaluating Alexandre Dumas within the Franco-phone World.* Eric Martone (ed.). Newcastle upon Tyne, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011. viii + 251 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.99)

March 1762. In the southwest corner of Saint-Domingue, a son was born to Alexandre Antoine Davy de la Pailleterie, a Norman aristocrat, and Marie Césette Dumas, a woman of color and most probably his slave. This son, Thomas Alexandre, would become one of the leading generals of the French Republic, a rival of Napoleon's, and the father of Alexandre Dumas, "the most famous French writer of the nineteenth century" (p. 1). January 1781, almost twenty years after Thomas Alexandre's birth, another Dumas of color, Marie Françoise Elisabeth, having married a colonist from Normandy, Jean Valentin Vastey, gave birth to a son, Jean Louis, in the northern province of the colony. In the decade and a half following the declaration of Haitian independence in 1804, Elisabeth's light-skinned son, better known as the Baron de Vastey, would become a leading figure in the government of King Henry Christophe (1807-20), the first native-born historian of Haiti and a tireless publicist in a transatlantic media campaign to unmask the neocolonial ambitions of the French, who throughout this period were hell-bent on recovering their precious "pearl of the Antilles" from the black Jacobins who had wrested it from them in the name of universal emancipation.

Since their deaths, Dumas and Vastey—who have been traditionally (if, it would now appear on the basis of the latest genealogical research, erroneously) identified as first cousins—have both suffered varying degrees of erasure from the historical record. However, as is amply demonstrated in Eric Martone's final chapter, Dumas has, in recent years, gained a definitive place in the pantheon of French history, in large part through the vocal efforts of the prolific Franco-Guadeloupean historian and novelist Claude Ribbe, founder in 2006 of the Association des amis du général Dumas. Dumas has been transformed into a veritable *lieu de mémoire* through whom the memory of slavery and republican universalism can be thought in France. This process of consecration culminated in the April 2009 unveiling of a monument in the general's honor, financed by the city of Paris and situated in the Place du général Catroux, which also houses statues of his son and grandson. The monument, a massive pair of shackles, replaced a statue of the general that had been installed there on the eve of World War I,



but was torn down three decades later by collaborators in Nazi-occupied France because of his Afro-Caribbean origins. The new visibility of “General Humanity” in France fuels Martone’s buoyant optimism regarding the power of civil society to create a public space “to contest French identity that has forced the state into negotiations that have limited its authority” (p. 220). For Martone, Dumas’s commemoration is heartening evidence that contemporary France has become a place in which national histories are “no longer determined exclusively by the dominant social group (i.e. ‘winners’), but instead are negotiated processes with influential groups and/or individuals that reflect a global sensibility” (p. 210).

Martone’s account of the events leading up to the Caribbean-born general’s 2009 commemoration is assuredly the chapter of most relevance to *NWIG* readers. This book—which markets itself as “the first scholarly work to bring Dumas into the center of debates about French identity and France’s relations with its former colonies” (p. 8)—also features a useful introduction, in which Martone provides a tripartite overview of the varying ways in which the black Atlantic identity of the general’s French-born son has been represented (or not, as the case may be) over the past century and a half leading up to his 2002 interment in the Pantheon. Martone first examines the changing representations of Dumas’s “racial” identity: during his lifetime, for instance, verbal and visual representations accentuated Dumas’s “black” features, whereas by the end of the nineteenth century “it became the norm to accentuate his Caucasian features” (p. 6). He then shows how, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, a foundation was laid for the construction of Dumas as a “francophone writer” in various prefaces to his 1843 novel *Georges*, the only work in which Dumas explicitly addresses colonialism and slavery. Finally, he details the Anglophone (and more specifically, American) reception of *Georges*, from the multiple translations of the novel that were published in the nineteenth century up to the 2007 Modern Library translation, which featured a foreword by Jamaica Kincaid that, notwithstanding the novel’s Indian Ocean setting, “expressed a sense of Caribbean solidarity with Dumas and his novel” (p. 19).

In re-situating the novelist Dumas and his entire family circle within the “francophone world,” Martone’s contributions support the book’s back-cover claim that academic scholarship “has begun to catch up with Dumas.” However, the six essays that are sandwiched between his introduction and his concluding chapter on General Dumas suggest that the most popular

French writer of the nineteenth century remains well in advance of his critics. These essays include: an astonishingly bloated psychoanalytic account of Dumas's variously conflicted representations of his father, two plot-dependent accounts of *Georges*, a productive "Franco-Indic" reading of *The Count of Monte Cristo*, a suggestive investigation of the development of the "literary myth" of *The Three Musketeers* and its recent appropriation as a national *lieu de mémoire*, and an intertextual analysis of the role of Dumas in Dai Sijie's *Balzac and the Little Chinese Seamstress*.

Rather than explore these poorly proofread essays in detail, it is more important to address the question of whether "francophonizing" the Dumas is an effective way of catching up with them. So often, as here, the contestation of "French identity" that is a central goal, and supposed achievement, of the Francophone agenda ends up working in tandem with, rather than against the grain of, a *francocentric* logic that inexorably draws author, critic, and reader back toward the very thing from which one might naturally have expected the critical gesture of "reevaluation" to be distancing us: namely, (a redemptive vision of) the French nation, its values, and its language. Characteristic of, and perhaps even endemic to, the seemingly expansive field of Francophone studies, this centripetal logic is all the more glaringly evident in the case of Martone's effort at reading Dumas as a "representative of *la Francophonie*" (p. 8), because in this particular case any such effort has to take into account, and to no small extent valorize, the similarly recuperative efforts that have recently been undertaken by the French government in official commemorative acts such as the pantheonization of Dumas or the (re)monumentalization of his father. Faced with such similarities, the self-protective impulse of the Francophonizing critic is to engage in a form of disavowal, by representing such acts of commemoration in unabashedly positive terms as evidence of civil society's power to set limits on state authority, rather than confront the unsettling possibility that, in a globalizing age of transnational pluralism and multiculturalism, these acts (and the negotiations that make them possible) are precisely what is required by the neoliberal state, no less than by the "influential groups and/or individuals" who constitute civil society, in order to breathe new life into the perduring myth of *la France éternelle*.

Notwithstanding its symptomatic relation to the central(izing) problematic of the ostensibly decentralizing field of Francophone studies, *The Black Musketeer* has the undeniable virtue of demonstrating the need for

future literary and cultural critics interested in the Dumas to confront the past and present efforts of the state and civil society (to say nothing of the market) at commemorating them, and to deal with the pressing question of how, or whether, one can disentangle the “good” memories from the “bad.” Two examples may be reported here as fresh evidence that there will be no end of commemorative material for those critics to work through.

In September 2011, Claude Ribbe addressed a questionnaire to Nicolas Sarkozy, as well as to all the declared candidates for the upcoming presidential election, asking: “How do you envisage rendering homage to General Dumas in 2012, as part of the 250th anniversary of his birth?”<sup>1</sup> In November 2011, the website of the Société des amis d’Alexandre Dumas noted that to mark the sescentennial anniversary of the birth of the writer’s father “in the former French colony of Saint-Domingue, present-day Haiti,” a group of French and Haitian admirers based in Haiti were organizing “an excursion and a memorial ceremony” to his place of birth and “were inviting Dumasians of France and elsewhere to join them.”<sup>2</sup> The difference in stature between these two examples—the first a direct challenge to the French president made by an influential member of civil society, the second an invitation to participate in memorial tourism—could not be more apparent. And yet, precisely because they are disparate manifestations of the *same* commemorative impulse, future critics must draw a line, be it of connection or distinction, between them. Are they both praiseworthy manifestations of “good” revisionist memory? Or is Ribbe’s intervention an admirable gesture that paves the way, as Martone claims, for further positive negotiations that reflect a “global sensibility,” and the planned excursion to Haiti a not merely trivial but noxious form of memorial tribute?<sup>3</sup> Or are they both “bad” memories promoting an insidious Francocentrism that has changed very little since its neocolonial logic was first unmasked by that “other” Dumas, Baron de Vastey, some two hundred years ago, as part

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.claude-ribbe.com>. All web references were last consulted on 19 December 2011.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.dumaspere.com/pages/actualites/actualite.html>.

<sup>3</sup> In a blog chronicling his month-long journey to Haiti on the trail of the Dumas, the excursion organizer, a certain Noël Lebaupin, revealingly lamented that “the legend of the general (a product of the Ancien Régime) was eclipsed by the history of the Haitian Revolution, a glorious history albeit one that is *still a little too glorified today*” (<http://www.dumaspere.com/pages/vie/lieux/haiti.html>; my italics).

of the (still ongoing) anticolonial struggle to preserve Haiti and its revolutionary promise of universal emancipation from “the despotic yoke that once oppressed us” (Vastey 2014). However one chooses to draw this line, it is certain that this last response, polemical as it must appear in our own age of “post-ideological” consensus, is the one with the most potential to disrupt the hegemonic process whereby “francophone” exceptions are appropriated and “normalized” by politicians, intellectuals, and marketers, in the name of a greater, more globally sensitive France. Effectively catching up with the Dumas, I would suggest, will entail, at the very least, remembering to take this anticolonial response into account, rather than (as in *The Black Musketeer*) simply excluding it from the range of critical possibilities.

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*French Caribbeans in Africa: Diasporic Connections and Colonial Administration, 1880-1939.* Véronique Hélénon. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. ix + 203 pp. (Cloth US\$ 80.00)

*French Caribbeans in Africa* addresses a topic that is sometimes mentioned but rarely analyzed in depth: interactions between the three “old” French colonies in the Caribbean—Guadeloupe, Guyane, and Martinique—and a section of the “second” colonial empire, French Africa. These interactions are explored through the circumstances that have led many French civil servants from the Caribbean to make a career in Africa. Emphasis is also on the role of these civil servants within the colonial administrative apparatus.

Although the prominence of Africa in the formation of Antillean societies is well documented, less is known about the period of history treated in this book, when the colonized were themselves engaged in a colonization process through the colonial bureaucracy. The originality of the situation lies precisely in the ambiguous status of this group of civil servants, who are both “colonized” and “colonizers”—civil servants steeped in Republican values that they tend to re-interpret against the background of their own experience as citizens denied the egalitarian treatment they expect to enjoy.

The book focuses on colonial administrators, the elite of the bureaucratic apparatus, who operate under the authority of the Ministry of colonies in positions reserved exclusively for French citizens, but it also considers the experience of the administrative executives who were their subordinates. Out of a list of 626 native French Caribbean colonial administrators, Véronique Hélénon has extracted the 357 who officiated in Africa between the 1880s and the 1930s. This list was prepared by cross-referencing several sources, including *l'Annuaire du ministère des colonies* (*the Directory of the Ministry of Colonies*), the directory of the alumni of the École Nationale de la France d’Outre-mer (ENFOM), personal records, and Masonic archives and interviews. The selection is further limited by criteria such as place and date of birth—for example, only administrators who had started their careers by the end of the 1930s are considered—as well as the chronological milestones of the investigation (1880s-1939).

The investigation provides sociological data on colonial administrators from the French Caribbean. This more or less homogeneous group, essen-

tially from the urban sectors of Antillo-Guyanese societies, is characterized by a high marriage rate compared with other sectors of the population, an indisputable occupational heredity, and an over-representation of the white minority relative to its weight in the population. Hence the central hypothesis of the book: the colonial administrators were part of these emerging intermediate categories encouraged by the state after the abolition of slavery, as part of the reconfiguration of Antillo-Guyanese societies. They are at the crossroads of two contradictory positions that of colonized citizens in their land of origin and that of colonized colonizers in Africa (p. 14). They are assigned a buffer role between both of these categories of colonized, while acting as living display windows for the opportunities supposedly offered by colonial policy to those who accepted to comply with its rules.

Chapter 1 describes the backdrop for the commitment of French administrators from the Caribbean to the colonial administration in Africa. This commitment was carried by a double movement: on the one hand, enthusiasm for administrative careers perceived as a means to escape the curse of the plantation system; on the other, the emergence of a colonial administration in the context of a policy aimed at eliminating any trace of the slave trade past and coping with new needs in Africa. The second chapter deals with "French Caribbean assimilationism," perfectly embodied in the colonial administrators. These people were motivated by an aspiration to full-fledged citizenship, but inhibited by the complexity of the links built with Africa over the course of history. The third chapter focuses on a description of the colonial administrative machine, destroying the myth of a uniform and homogeneous apparatus. In reality, a significant portion of this machine was composed of colonized citizens, thought to be capable of coping with the severe climate and of playing the buffer role that fell to them. Finally, the last chapter highlights the rationale that drove the operation of this machine, wrestling with its own contradictions, but keeping close watch on the native Caribbean administrators. However, the latter could rely on various connections and show pragmatism for fulfilling their functions in a context plagued with persistent racism against them.

*French Caribbeans in Africa* has the merit of building bridges between two worlds—the old and the new colonial empire—which tend to be treated separately in historians' works. Easy to read, it contributes to filling an undeniable gap. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that little significance

is ascribed to the perception of these “colonized colonizers” within the receiving societies, to their societal insertion, to their relations with their environment, and to the image that they left behind. This image probably influences the collective imaginaries still today, as much in Francophone Africa as in the French Caribbean. Similarly, the book tends to depict the state as a kind of demiurge that has succeeded in laying the cornerstone that led to the creation of a new reality after 1848 in the Caribbean, under the yoke of the on-going colonial process. In this sense, it neglects the complex game of the actors, in which the state is far from being the only contributor to the advent of this new reality.

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*Postcolonial Francophone Autobiographies: From Africa to the Antilles*. Edgard Sankara. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011. viii + 218 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

Postcolonial autobiography has already attracted a lot of critical attention in recent years, since it raises crucial questions around authorial identity, self-expression in the language of the colonizer, and relations between European and indigenous writing practices. Alfred Hornung and Ernsperter Ruhe's *Postcolonialism and Autobiography* (Rodopi, 1998) and, more recently, Bart Moore Gilbert's *Postcolonial Life-Writing: Culture, Politics, and Self-Representation* (Routledge, 2009) explore these questions in Anglophone and some Francophone writing. And Debra Kelly's *Autobiography and Independence* (Liverpool, 2005) and Alison Rice's *Time Signatures: Contextualizing Contemporary Francophone Autobiography from the Maghreb* (Lexington, 2006) are specific explorations of the use of the genre by Francophone Maghrebians.

Less attention has been paid to Francophone African and Caribbean autobiography, however, and Edgard Sankara's study sets out to fill this gap with a comparative focus on three autobiographers from Africa alongside three from the Antilles. Juxtaposing discussion of Amadou Hampâté Bâ, V.Y. Mudimbé, and Kesso Barry with analysis of Patrick Chamoiseau, Raphaël Confiant, and Maryse Condé, Sankara uncovers the tensions inherent in the Francophone autobiographical project, including the authors' often troubled relationship with their originary community, and the politics of their works' reception. The book is framed by reflections on reception theory, and more particularly on Gerald Prince's distinction between narratee and implied reader (see, for example, Prince 1980). Part of the originality of the individual close readings lies in their exploration of the ways in which the texts engage with particular audiences—in Africa, the Caribbean, and, most problematically, Europe. This framing gives the thrust of the analysis a critical slant, since Sankara is clearly concerned by the ways in which some of the works under consideration address above all the European readership and risk cutting themselves off from the country of origin.

The chapters themselves offer some close readings of these authors' autobiographical works, then, but all include extensive discussion of their reception and its often uncomfortable politics. The exploration of Hampâté Bâ's *Amkoullel, l'enfant peul* (1991) in the first chapter includes some

reflection on the work's ironization of Eurocentric assumptions regarding African identity, and the young boy's naive mythologization of the white man is read as itself a pointed reminder to the European that he too might be perceived as "other." Much of this chapter is concerned, however, with the genesis of the work and its reception, leading Sankara to conclude that it is far too bound up with its European readership to offer any authentic representation of life in Mali. Mudimbé's *Les Corps glorieux des mots et des êtres*, however, is read rather more favorably as a history of Africa itself, "at the crossroads between two systems of thought: that of the traditional Africa, and that of the modern West" (p. 73). Next, Kesso Barry's contestatory depiction of her experience growing up as a girl in a Peul community is treated with more nuance, as Sankara uncovers her contradictory position in relation to patriarchal expectations and her unresolved engagement with feminist politics. The chapters on Caribbean writing then focus even more extensively on the critical reviews received in turn by Chamoiseau's *Antan d'enfance*, Confiant's *Ravines du devant-jour*, and Condé's *Le Coeur à rire et à pleurer*. The reading of Chamoiseau nicely brings out the self-consciousness of his reflection on the concept of memory itself, and aptly illustrates his depiction of Creole plurality through an examination of his playful idiom. Similarly, in his reading of Confiant Sankara discusses the juxtaposition of different idioms and stylistic elements, though again, finishes by stressing how "the reception of Confiant's *Ravines du devant-jour* reveals the failure of the Créolité movement to fulfill its claim to cater to a Martinican audience in its search for an authentic Martinican literature rooted in the language and realities of the island" (p. 143). Condé's work seems to emerge as that most true to itself in Sankara's eyes, as the reading shows how she overtly focuses on painful memories as well as happy ones, and she is also explicitly attempting "to make amends with her critics" (p. 167). Sankara's reading of Condé makes the insightful suggestion that she deliberately and strategically stages herself in different ways in order to provoke her critics, rather than seeking to express an authentic self.

The study's focus on reception is original and informative, but there is a risk in this book that critics' reactions take precedence over careful close reading. The political slant to the work also means that it tends to be rather critical of the authors under discussion, which may be a valid approach, but raises the question of why other more successful autobiographies were not chosen for the analysis. The use of the first person is at times a little

awkward, and can give the text a slightly hesitant tone despite the strength of the arguments put forward. Nevertheless this book makes an important contribution to the field by revealing the highly fraught position of the authorial voice and its actual and implied interlocutors in the context of Francophone African and Caribbean autobiography.

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*Living Fanon: Global Perspectives*. Nigel C. Gibson (ed.). Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. v + 257 pp. (Paper US\$ 30.00)

In her contribution to this timely volume, Alice Cherki maintains that “reading Fanon helps us to ‘resist the air of our present time’ in the fields of politics, culture, and individual becoming, with his quest to join everything human, every relationship of the singular to the collective in the ordeal of alienation” (p. 132). The distinctive features of Cherki’s chapter correspond with many of the book’s underlying aims and imperatives. Published half a century after *The Wretched of the Earth*, the collection argues for Fanon’s peculiar resonance in a geo-political context marked by the Arab Spring uprisings and their aftermath, while also seeking to situate his oeuvre in more compelling historical and discursive contexts. As such, it is the many motivations and polyglot interventions in *Living Fanon* that set it apart from other companions published to coincide with a particular anniversary, be it in relation to the author and/or the events with which they are associated. By framing Fanon and his intellectual legacy in light of the “series of revolts that have rocked regimes across North Africa and the Middle East” (p. 2), Nigel Gibson’s introduction sets the tone for much of what follows. Of equal significance, however, is the supplementary question that accompanies the title to his introduction, “Living Fanon?” Irrespective of readers’ schooling in Fanonian thought, the question mark immediately sensitizes them to the collection’s interrogative thrust. If numerous contributors foreground the prescient, often prophetic quality of Fanon’s work, they are complemented by those, such as Michael Neocosmos and Peter Hallward, who privilege greater degrees of critical ambivalence. In pointing to the inevitable blind-spots of Fanonian discourse, they contest those more reductive and/or romanticized portraits of the man and his legacy. Fittingly, therefore, the debates within *Living Fanon* have traces of the robust urgency and energy that characterizes the work and thought of its central subject. As such, some of the volume’s most memorable contributions are combative tributes, authored in the spirit of Fanon’s final prayer: “Make of me always a man who questions!” (Fanon 1967: 232).

I found many of *Living Fanon*’s most provocative interventions clustered in its second half. Mabogo Percy More, for instance, offers a *Wretched of the Earth*-inspired critique of South Africa’s ruling ANC. Suggesting that “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness” could have been written “with

postapartheid 'New South Africa' in mind" (p. 173), More maintains that, while the flag, constitution, and faces of those in power may have changed, certain underlying structures, ideologies, and inequities, most manifest in terms of the "land question," are as conspicuous as they are entrenched. Chapters by Lou Turner and Grant Farred are similarly striking. In "Fanon and the Biopolitics of Torture," Turner uses *Wretched's* hauntingly prescient section, "Colonial War and Mental Disorders," to point toward complicity and culpability in everyone from "the chattering classes of the [modern] media" (p. 117) to "cowboy intellectuals" (p. 123). If the tone of Farred's philosophically dense intervention is understated by comparison, his discussion will linger just as long in the reader's mind. For Farred, "Encoded in the Fanonian declarative is a philosophical uncertainty that enriches *Wretched*" (p. 167). The significance of "uncertainty" here lies in its defamiliarizing intensity. As such, it is once more contiguous with some of the volume's central tenets; urging readers to suspend what they think they might know about Fanon in order to foreground and then re-view some of the nuances of his work and legacy. This in itself creates areas of productive tension within and between different offerings. In "Fanon and the Possibility of Postcolonial Critical Imagination," for instance, Ato Sekyi-Otu sets himself apart from many of the contributors, provocatively declaring that "[in] most parts of the African continent, the name Fanon sounds today like a spectre from another time and place, an emanation from a past so recent yet so remote" (p. 45). If, at times, readers risk losing the subject himself in prose that tends towards the labyrinthine, Sekyi-Otu's discussion of Fanonian interlocutors also has a certain defamiliarizing quality.

To a significant extent, this book argues, a re-engagement with Fanonian discourse enables, perhaps even actively compels us to "resist the air of our present time," as Cherki's chapter, 'Fanon, Fifty Years Later: Resisting the Air of Our Present Time,' suggests. If Fanon's critique of a neo-colonial bourgeoisie, hiding their nepotism behind obscurantist rhetoric, struck a chord in readers during the 1950s and 1960s, its power remains undimmed in so many ways and in so many places today. While such re-negotiations continue to provide counter-hegemonic inspiration, the essays in *Living Fanon* maintain that we can only refine our understanding by paying much closer attention to the peculiarities of geo-political, economic, ideological, and cultural contexts, both in relation to the period from which the original texts emerge and in terms of the peculiar dynamics of the historical present.

At its strongest, Gibson's volume succeeds in achieving its multiple objectives. As it breathes new life into Fanon's work for specialist and novice readers alike, it also makes vital demands on the critical industry that has sprung up around him over the past decades. One of the most trenchant cases it presents is that, now more than ever, we must oppose the reproduction of stale debates and all-too-easy caricatures of the man and his legacy. As Richard Pithouse suggests in the volume's poignant final chapter ("Fidelity to Fanon"), "sixty years on [from *Black Skin, White Masks*], the truths that [Fanon] wrought from a militant engagement with his world now illuminate ours" (p. 225). Throughout *Living Fanon*, Pithouse and his fellow contributors demonstrate how and why the compelling, necessarily combative legacy of Frantz Fanon and his work refuses to die.

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*In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783.* Michael Jarvis. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 684 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

One of the great paradoxes of Atlantic World history has been its focus on the land. Amidst the array of studies of North American colonies or European countries and regions in Atlantic perspective, very few have been explicitly maritime. In this magisterial study of the little island of Bermuda, Michael Jarvis sets out to address that lacuna. This is a big book in two senses. At more than 460 pages of text, supported by almost 200 more of extensive notes, the study promises a microstudy of a maritime society that is both comprehensive in its coverage and rich in detail. Yet this is more than an anatomy of one hundred years of a maritime community. Jarvis has grander ambitions too. Aiming to use Bermuda to explore wider historiographical debates, he positions his study at the “intersection of maritime history, Atlantic history, and colonial American history” (p. 1). In doing so, he posits Bermuda as a key nodal point in an American-Atlantic world.

Across seven substantive chapters, plus an introduction, a conclusion, and an epilogue, Jarvis explores the lives of Bermudians. His first chapter sets the context by examining the colony’s foundation and its early iteration as the colony of the Somers Island Company and, perhaps most strikingly, shows how remarkably successful were the early settlements, especially by comparison with the troubled early Virginia colony on the mainland. Indeed, until Virginia stabilized in the later 1620s, Jarvis argues, Bermuda led the way in the production of tobacco. It was also the earliest and largest slave importer in the British Atlantic before the sugar revolution transformed the demography of the Caribbean. Despite its success as a prototypical plantation colony, its diversification into the maritime business of ship-building and intercolonial trade meant that by the beginning of the study period, it came to resemble Massachusetts more closely than Virginia. For Jarvis, the end of Company rule (allied to the dynamism of the American colonies to the west) signalled the recasting of the governance and economy of the island.

Throughout, Jarvis makes interesting and sometimes arresting points. His exploration of eighteenth-century slave sailors, for example, offers a markedly different perspective on Bermudian slavery from that of Mary Prince, whose later experiences tend to dominate conceptions of slave society in

the island. He has much of interest to say about the trading orbit of the Bermudian merchants. Their mercantile realm was trans-American (and trans-imperial), and they moved seamlessly (not always legally) between the British, Dutch, and Danish empires. In this sense, the Bermudians' world was western- rather than trans-Atlantic.

The fourth chapter explores the notion of the Atlantic "commons." Jarvis discusses the role of Bermudians in salt harvesting in the Turks and Caicos, salvage of shipwrecks (though here wrecking is discussed as a "commons" rather than a crime), foresting and wood cutting, whaling, and privateering. One might question the extent to which this last occupation ought to be conceptualized as the exploitation of a "commons." Jarvis's chapters are rich in detail but occasionally, as here, there is a sense that he has material he really wanted to include, without quite knowing where to place it.

In Chapter 5, Jarvis paints a detailed portrait of Bermudian society, successfully melding a demographic study with a more cultural discussion of patterns of consumption, fashion, and architecture. Here we see who Bermudians were and how they lived. It was a strikingly youthful colony and one that was marked by a stark imbalance in the sexes. To historians of the Caribbean, the ratio of women to men in Bermuda (at nearly 2:1) is especially remarkable. It follows, then, that women played a particularly important part in Bermudian society. Fittingly, the largest part of this chapter is devoted to women as entrepreneurs, merchants, tavern and shop keepers, and to their management of families and households.

Jarvis develops his discussion of families by assessing the Bermudian diaspora in the Americas. Like many recent historians, he lays considerable emphasis on the importance of kinship in underpinning Bermudian mercantile relationships. Interestingly, he also elides kinship with what he calls a "quasi ethnicity" based on common colonial origins. In doing so, he marks Bermudian networks as different from networks based on religion—Jews, Quakers, and Huguenots—but makes no real attempt to test his kinship and "ethnicity" arguments against the experiences of others, like the Irish or Scots, perhaps. He also presents Bermudians as *successful*. I would be interested to know what happened in close communities on Bermuda when things went wrong.

That things might have gone wrong is suggested by the challenges mariners faced in the second half of the eighteenth century. With competition from larger colonial fleets and vessels, and rising prices, the Bermudians



found themselves squeezed in the years before the American Revolution. After 1776, Jarvis argues, Bermudians found themselves caught between their reliance on North America for supplies and their legal obligations to Britain. Their response, unlike the Caribbean islands, was to turn to North America and to maintain trade connections, some of which supplied the Americans with access to French and Dutch colonial markets.

Jarvis presents Bermuda as a remarkable, and in many ways unique node, in the western Atlantic. The island, he argues, was “simultaneously central and marginal” (p. 183). His anatomy of a small and often-overlooked colony, on the other hand, will become central to our understanding of the British Americas. It is a significant addition to the burgeoning scholarship in the field and ought to be essential reading for everyone interested in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world.

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*Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776*. Natalie A. Zacek. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. xi + 293 pp. (Cloth US\$ 90.00)

*Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776* is a significant scholarly study of Montserrat, Antigua, Nevis, and St Kitts in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As her title suggests, Natalie Zacek focuses on the white minority in the Leewards, which comprised about 7,000 people by 1776 when slaves and free blacks in those islands numbered 100,000. She argues that, contrary to the common emphasis on the debauched, unstable, wasteful, philistine white society of the early British Caribbean, one can establish a more positive case for the creation of a successful, functioning white society in the British Leewards before the American Revolution. Drawing on a wide range of primary sources including governors' correspondence, legal records, census data, and numerous contemporary descriptions of one or all of the Leewards, she produces a portrait of a sustainable white society. Thus she challenges the notion that these colonies were white social failures.

Though it is sometimes difficult to extract this argument from the narratives that form the core of each chapter, Zacek summarizes the book well in her concluding pages: "Leeward colonists, though certainly replete with prejudices, dislikes, and insecurities, were in many instances willing and able to incorporate into society various representatives of initially suspect groups and individuals, including Irish Catholics, Scots, Sephardic Jews, Quakers, unmarried couples, participants in interracial sexual relationships, and others . . . as long as these people did not overtly challenge the norms and ideals that Leeward residents most valued, particularly in terms of what they considered to be their innate Englishness and the natural rights they viewed as an integral component thereof" (p. 234).

Zacek emphasizes the varied and potentially disruptive environment in which white society in the Leewards operated. Natural hazards such as hurricanes, drought, fire, and earthquakes combined with fear of slave rebellion in a society where blacks predominated. Heterodox ethnic and religious affiliations existed among white settlers, allowing for the possibility of religious and political instability. We are left in no doubt about the difficulty of constructing a viable social order among white people in the Leewards. Nevertheless, although examples abound in the book of disputes, conflicts, tensions, and violence among settlers, Zacek argues that a

viable social order was achieved by different groups adhering, despite their differences, to English notions of liberty, property, and loyalty to the Anglican state and parliamentary rule. Thus Irish Catholics in Montserrat made accommodations to Anglicanism to gain positions of status while the ambition and frugality of Scots in Antigua made them trusted employees among established Anglophone planters. Quaker colonists also came to an easy accommodation with the Anglican hierarchy in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century. In general, different groups “negotiated for themselves a sense of being at once English and West Indian” (p. 65).

One does wonder, however, how well this situation was sustained. While not wanting to return to the unstable, reckless image of white settlers in the early Caribbean, a further look at Zacek’s evidence suggests that the Creole social order created was quite fragile. If settlers had fully accepted their role as both English and West Indian, there would have been less absenteeism, which in fact increased markedly during the eighteenth century. It did so because settlers felt more attached to the mother country than to the Caribbean islands; they were, in Michael Craton’s phrase, “reluctant creoles.” This would suggest that a constructive social order in the British Leewards is an overly rosy view of the social situation there. On the contrary, many settlers were always looking for opportunities to quit the Caribbean once they had made money. Zacek could have used the extensive family and business papers of prominent absentee families such as the Tudways and Codringtons of Antigua or the Pinneys of Nevis to explore their views on this matter. But it is a virtue of *Settler Society in the British Leewards* that it will allow historians to continue the debate on the degree of success and cohesion amongst the white population in the early British Caribbean by evaluating and extending the material Zacek has ably brought together.

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*They Do As They Please: The Jamaican Struggle for Cultural Freedom after Morant Bay.* Brian L. Moore & Michele A. Johnson. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2011. xii + 580 pp. (Paper US\$ 45.00)

Lucidly written and well documented, this book examines various secular aspects of Jamaican culture during the fifty-year period after the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865. Among the areas highlighted are material culture, language and oral culture, the creative and performing arts, forms of popular entertainment, sports and games, rites of passage, and social clubs and fraternities. The cultures of Indians and Chinese, whose coming to Jamaica in the nineteenth century broadened several aspects of the island's Creole culture, are also discussed.

European missionaries and their allies in Britain were integral to the story of emancipation in Jamaica, and in the immediate postslavery period a majority of black Jamaicans adopted Christianity. However, several of the converts retained their African-based beliefs, religious expressions, and ideas of God, in effect Africanizing Christianity and becoming "Jamaican Christians," not "British Christians" (p. 3). African cultural practices remained part of the day-to-day lives of the descendants of the enslaved populations, a process that Moore and Johnson had already clearly demonstrated in a 2004 book, *Neither Led nor Driven*.

This companion publication underscores that the Jamaican social reformers, including members of an emerging black and colored middle class, white missionaries, and the governing elite who accompanied the introduction of crown colony government saw the Morant Bay Rebellion as stark proof of the failure of the postslavery "civilizing" project. Accordingly, they looked to the process of anglicization to purge Jamaica's Afro-Creole culture of its so-called immoral and debauched "superstitions," thereby enabling the island to progress into a modern society based on the incorporation of middle-class Victorian, Christian values and morals. These were preached from the pulpits and reinforced in the schools and in the press, and further buttressed by laws against "heathenism" and "superstition" which were backed up by the police, the courts, and the penal system. Essentially, people were proselytized by the force of opinion and dictates of public policy to accept an imported "civilized" culture.

*They Do As They Please* locates within this context the founding of the Institute of Jamaica (IOJ) in 1879. Among the island's contemporary premier

public cultural institutions, the IOJ was established to target the middle and lower middle classes whom the social reformers considered insufficiently erudite, anglicized, and "civilized." The IOJ's library branch network in the island's main towns, its publications, public lectures, and science museum were developed to promote "Eurocentric intellectualism" (p. 143). Clearly, in the age of imperialism and the "white man's burden," Jamaica's black and colored middle class, like the Afro-Creole base of the society, were in need of white tutelage in the higher intellectual pursuits of art, literature, and science. Indeed, an anglicized emerging intelligentsia would ultimately assist in the larger process of also "elevating" the Afro-Creole lower classes that were excluded from the IOJ's mandate, though their contributions to the public revenue financed its various initiatives to transform the culture of the middle class.

The promotion of civilization through anglicization also aimed at the local white merchants and planters whose habits were scrutinized by the social reformers. The local white upper class was eager to bolster white supremacy after the near miss of Morant Bay, but they were unenthusiastic about adopting Victorian moral codes that excluded elements of their own Euro-Creole culture. So the local white elite's support for the assault on what they considered the dangerous elements of Afro-Creole culture did not necessarily translate into a broader movement to anglicize the lower classes. Excessive rum drinking and gambling, as well as more relaxed sexual codes, were a way of life among all classes of Jamaicans.

This ambivalence also affected the middle and lower classes. The educated and acculturated colored and black professionals were nurtured by Jamaican Creole society and were often conflicted between their socialization and the push for anglicization which effectively required "cultural self-denial" (p. 407). The black and colored lower classes celebrated their Afro-Creole culture, resisting attacks on their personal freedom and public celebrations, and enjoying cultural power from their numbers. Yet they were also ambivalent about their embrace of Christianity and cricket, though, as Moore and Johnson demonstrate, they creolized both. The Asian, Chinese, and Indians, who were also targeted by the crusading reformers, occupied a unique position as they attempted to preserve their distinct ethnic identities even as they were influenced by both anglicization and creolization, while significantly influencing the latter. For example, by the early twentieth century, the use of ganja had penetrated black Creole culture, much

to the chagrin and consternation of elite classes, who were alarmed by the lower classes' enthusiastic participation in Chinese gambling lotteries.

*They Do As They Please* describes the tensions between the enduring Jamaican Creole culture and anglicization as a "titanic struggle for the cultural soul of Jamaica" (p. 409). However, given the levels of cultural ambivalence affecting blacks and coloreds, local whites, and the new groups of Asians, the process of contestation was not always clear cut. Cultural ambivalence in Jamaican society persists today and is complicated further by new sources of acculturation emanating from the United States and sustained by modern technology and the continuous movement of peoples.

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*A Cultural History of Cuba during the U.S. Occupation, 1898-1902*. Marial Iglesias Utset. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011. xi + 202 pp. (Paper US\$ 26.95)

Historians of Cuba, on the island and off, have long known this book in its original (2003) Spanish edition. The English version (translated admirably by Russ Davidson) happily ensures that it will have a wider audience. Marial Iglesias analyzes small and large changes in everyday life during the transition from Spanish rule to independence in the period 1898-1902. These years coincide with a U.S. occupation as well, but she resolutely decenters the U.S. presence through a compelling analysis of the spaces and practices of the “nationalist imagination” that she argues were “both the cause and effect of a political and cultural process of great complexity” (p. 7). The book accomplishes a great deal with subtle arguments that work at many levels: it is at once a methodological challenge to Benedict Anderson’s (and many followers’) yoking of nationalism to print capitalism, a thoughtful and well-documented reformulation of the unproductive dichotomy “resistance and accommodation” that has powerfully shaped Cuban historiography on both sides of the Straits of Florida, and a deft portrayal of loyalties and tensions that run through the seemingly impenetrable historiographic walls separating the colonial from the republican periods. But best of all perhaps are the stories she has managed to elicit from the broad array of sources with which this book was written. Tales of statues toppled and replaced, flags baptized, and bodies exhumed and reburied animate the pages of this wonderful book.

Nationalism, argues Iglesias, is lived and embodied through a series of rituals and representations. Looking to municipal councils and associations in an effort to move beyond Havana and official discourses, she dwells on fraught microhistories. The renaming of streets over the course of three years speaks volumes. In Havana, U.S. officials tried and failed to control rampant renaming in the provinces. Municipal councils took it upon themselves to eliminate names reminiscent of Spanish colonialism and replace them with those of the heroes and martyrs of the recently fought wars of independence. But, as she also points out, this patriotism was not immune to exclusionary racist or gendered practices. Contrary to official discourses about equality among Cubans of all races, the Cuban patriotism that renamed urban spaces marginalized black men and all women in its

emphasis on a pantheon of white male military heroes. The concrete analysis of reconstruction as nationalism both breaks new evidentiary ground and refuses simplification. In a marvelous discussion of objects as purveyors of nationalism, she notes the elevation of items like pins, cuff links, fragments of uniforms, or any other shard left behind by soldiers and heroes of the wars of independence to dual statuses as relics and souvenirs. The logics of religion and the marketplace collude and blend into one another as these tangible bits of memory make their ways to museums or the display cases of private homes. Like so much of this book, this is at once an entertaining story and a serious intervention in discussions about nationalism as practice and in relation to spirituality or capitalism.

The book deflates stalwart assumptions about the role of the U.S. occupiers. It demonstrates, for instance, that contrary to frequent claims about the U.S. role in banning cockfights, it was often town councils or other local officials concerned with the image of Cubanness that cockfights exuded who were responsible for their prohibition. Thus questions of “culture” and “civilization” underwent debate and contestation as much among Cubans as between Cubans and Americans. But this does not mean that Iglesias lets the U.S. occupation off the hook. Rather, it is one among several complex narratives. As a guiding framework, the multivocal nature of historical processes allows for a fresh approach, exemplified by the episode of Cuban schoolteachers sent to Harvard University for pedagogic training. She is able to sustain an argument that acknowledges the schoolteachers’ admiration for the United States and simultaneous clear-sightedness about imperialism without neglecting the reality of American racism or widespread American support for Cuban independence.

Like many of the episodes that Iglesias narrates with such precision and subtlety, the book itself speaks with many voices. What resonates with historians based in North America will differ from what is most striking to historians working in Latin America or the Caribbean, where the stakes vary and the unspoken matters a great deal. The politics of loyalty and citizenship within regimes striving for legitimacy may be familiar ground, but it is far from settled. Iglesias’s brilliant work unsettles it even more, and then sows clarity.

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*Poverty and Perception in Jamaica: A Comparative Analysis of Jamaican Households.* Warren A. Benfield. Kingston: UWI Press, 2010. 185 pp. (Paper US\$ 27.00)

Since the early 1990s there has been an ongoing creative tension between “absolutist” income- or consumption-base measurements of poverty and subjective understandings of what it means to be poor. In many instances this tension has resulted in a shared conception of the value of combining approaches to measuring and analyzing poverty. This happened notably during the 1990s when World Bank Poverty Assessment literature began combining standardized money-metric poverty data with participatory poverty assessments that analyzed poverty and its determinants from the perspective of the people themselves.

There have also periodically been attempts to explain what it is that makes people subjectively define themselves as poor when according to the official poverty line they are not. In this vein, Jamaican social scientist Warren Benfield seeks to fill a gap in Caribbean literature by comparing the consumption-based poverty levels from the Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (JSLC) with subjective, self-assessed poverty levels derived from a qualitative survey implemented in communities where participatory poverty assessments had also been conducted.

Having identified significant differences in the incidence of poverty according to whether an objective or subjective measurement is used, Benfield analyzes a range of social variables, including educational attainment, sex of household head, and child dependency ratio, to see which of these variables correlate most closely with incidences of “incorrect” self-assessed poverty. Using these correlates, he then speculates on why these objectively non-poor households might consider themselves poor. He suggests, for instance, that female-headed households that are not “objectively” poor may nonetheless be more vulnerable to economic and social shocks, because of increased dependence on social programs and remittances. Based on the correlations analysis he goes on to make some working policy recommendations, including improving educational enrollment, educating parents on the importance of school, and introducing social regulation of family size through fostering.

Benfield opens the door to a valuable debate by inviting readers to rethink the way that analysts and policy makers conceptualize and tackle poverty.

He argues that “focusing on the reasons *why* households are poor or classify themselves as poor may point to more fundamental policy options that may reduce or eliminate poverty rather than merely offsetting it” (p. 8, my emphasis). That said, Benfield is explicit that his goal is not to combine data but to “analyse both sets of data to learn what is different from objective and subjective approaches” (p. 16). Yet by venturing into an interpretive discussion of possible causes and solutions to subjective poverty he raises expectations about what the book can deliver. While acknowledging that “greater use of participatory poverty assessment data would have been an asset” (p. 10), he has to fall back on bivariate correlations to inform his poverty and policy analysis. These correlations lack the explanatory power of qualitative and participatory research. Furthermore his policy recommendations are solely based on variables that can be measured in a household survey, which means that he excludes from his policy analysis other fundamental structural dimensions of poverty: the skewed institutions and power imbalances that limit opportunities, perpetuate inter-generational poverty, and restrict social mobility in Jamaica. Although vulnerability is briefly discussed, the book also lacks an analytical framework that would have been helpful in interpreting and explaining subjective experiences of poverty and justifying policy recommendations.

*Poverty and Perception in Jamaica* is an encouraging and enlightening first step in comparing objective and subjective poverty in Jamaican households. There is a great opportunity now to undertake what Benfield calls a “cause-based approach [to] fundamental policy options” (p. 8) by integrating the explanatory power of qualitative insights into poverty and policy analysis.

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*West Indian Business History: Enterprise and Entrepreneurship*. B.W. Higman & Kathleen E.A. Monteith (eds.). Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2010. vii + 236 pp. (Paper US\$ 35.00)

This enterprising package has the merit of bringing together several hard to find essays spanning the period 1961-2008, but it is uncertain how many of the authors would have thought at the time that they were writing business history. This makes the insightful introduction all the more valuable, even though it sometimes carries the forced tone of trying to justify the collection. Economical in words, it cleverly dissects the field, and at the end, raises a troubling question, asking whether in the history of the Caribbean, business success for the few meant exploitation and stunted prospects of the many. This is particularly troubling because the modern approach to Caribbean development emphasizes the role of the private sector as the so-called engine of growth, and the hope of increased general welfare. Perhaps what was required, then, especially given the grand title, was a concluding chapter that interrogated some of the issues identified in the individual essays from a modern perspective, in order to delineate lines of continuity, and to help make sense of contemporary challenges in the business world.

The essay by Richard Lobdell on the sugar industry in the nineteenth century in particular invites such musings. It is striking how the trials that he describes have been replicated in the last ten years: changing trade rules, preference erosion, export subsidies, new competition, fluctuating prices, and credit crunch. Some of the responses are also familiar: restructuring, including the closure of entire island sugar industries, sale to foreign interests, worker retrenchment, and attempts at diversification. But there are hints also in other contributions. Here are a few examples. Douglas Hall's thoughtful observation that business enterprise was stymied by the weight of incalculability would resonate with anyone trying to do business in the midst of an ongoing international financial crisis. So too would the revelation that one reason for the failure of the Barbados Cooperative Bank was its close connection with the real estate market. Likewise, the part played by earnings from employment in Panama in irrigating the economy of Barbados would recall the contemporary importance of remittances from abroad in the Caribbean economy.

The essays generally make clear the heavy hand of the external element in Caribbean business history. Apart from trade rules, and the volatility of prices for tropical commodities, there are two overwhelming factors that have a long reach. One is currency movements, which Douglas Hall identifies as contributing to the general unpredictability of business success in the eighteenth century. The other is the role of the metropolitan broker, agent, or consignee, as explained in particular by Richard Sheridan. That role has continued almost unabated down to the present day, including the connections with shipping, insurance, and banking. It was the local manifestation of this latter influence that led V.S. Naipaul to remark in *The Middle Passage* that nothing was created in the West Indies and that our most successful people were commission agents. He was pilloried for the first part of that remark, but not many noted the context. The dominance of importer interests, and buyers and sellers, over producer claims, not to mention consumer welfare, is still a marked feature of the Caribbean business environment.

Some of the papers highlight the issue of ethnic stereotyping, perhaps an inescapable feature of the landscape. But here the discussion itself seems stereotypical. Chinese, we are told, are frugal, hardworking, and committed to family values, and therein resides the key to their success. Blacks, on the other hand, were regarded as spendthrift and unlikely to be able to repay their loans. Yet there is evidence that in Barbados it was black entrepreneurs who helped to promote new business ventures in transport, the soft drinks industry, and retailing. This was also the case with the Portuguese in Guyana, and Indians in the southern Caribbean, a major omission in this book. Indeed, what are also missing are the Caribbean wide ramifications of some of the material that the essays cover, for example, the role of informal credit institutions, but perhaps that is to be expected in a compendium of essays originally written for another purpose. Some of that deficiency is made up in the useful "Suggested Further Readings" which is thematically organized, and manages to straddle the Caribbean as a whole.

One of the avowed aims of the editors was to illustrate the ways in which business history connects with other themes in Caribbean history. This has been successfully accomplished, and if it stimulates a rereading of other works on the Caribbean, to discover more linkages, it would make the collection a fine achievement. It is to be hoped, however, that the first chapter

on privateering in seventeenth-century Jamaica does not incite unfounded comparisons with contemporary business transactions.

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*Frontiers, Plantations and Walled Cities: Essays on Society, Culture, and Politics in the Hispanic Caribbean, 1800-1945.* Luis Martínez-Fernández. Princeton NJ: Markus Wiener, 2010. xiii + 221 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

Despite a misleading title taken from the subject of the first essay, this book, written over the course of the author's career, demonstrates the range of his interests in aspects of Hispanic Caribbean history and culture. The major themes of politics, gender, and religion form the backbone of the collection; the seven somewhat revised but still disparate essays deal principally with the nineteenth-century history of the region. The first briefly examines Cuba's social and ethnic composition in terms of its economy. Martínez-Fernández uses the opposing models of the frontier and the plantation as two contradictory settings that explain Cuban society and that have been historiographically employed since the late nineteenth century; one emphasizes freedom and democratic tendencies and the other is grounded in hierarchy and exploitation. A second essay compares the Cuban and Puerto Rican planter responses to the rise of beet sugar's competition with the cane sugar industries on the islands in the nineteenth century. Cuba turned to mechanization, intensification of slavery, and concentration of production in an indigenous planter class. Puerto Rico reacted with a contraction of sugar and slavery and saw the rise of a rural population of subsistence farmers. These were variant responses based on local possibilities. Both of these essays draw on the existing historiography and mostly on published sources. More original are an essay on the life of women in Havana and another on Protestants in the nineteenth-century Hispanic Caribbean, a subject on which Martínez-Fernández has made an important contribution by examining the presence of large numbers of Protestants in Puerto Rico, and the techniques of pretense and dissimulation that allowed them to survive and sometimes flourish in an intolerant religious environment.

The three final essays present overviews of politics in the shadow of the United States. One on annexationism and dictatorship in the Dominican Republic is a political narrative that does not look to underlying causes. Another on Puerto Rican politics in 1898 and on the subsequent steps taken by the United States to establish its control goes somewhat deeper and incorporates the work of recent scholars which is beginning to suggest that the internal divisions of class and race on the island often had as much to do with the subsequent history of the island as did the actions of the

U.S. government. The final essay presents an overview and comparison of political culture in the Hispanic Caribbean from 1868 to 1945 and its relation to the hegemony of the United States. This is a useful summary that emphasizes the differences between the basically conservative autonomy of Puerto Rico under Spain that continued on the island after 1898 and the traditions of violent resistance to Spain in Cuba that continued in some ways into the twentieth century. Using the different economic conditions on the three Spanish-speaking islands as a background, Martínez-Fernández examines the contrastive trajectories of their political destinies. He traces the move from U.S. intervention to hegemony and the emergence of the *caudillaje* of Trujillo, Machado, and Batista as well as the reformism of Muñoz Marín as basically related phenomena.

Students will find this collection useful as an introduction to a number of themes because it provides integrated comparative political narratives. Scholars will be less satisfied even though Martínez-Fernández has used archival and printed primary sources in his recounting of the political history. The essays have not been integrated nor is there any introduction or conclusion that points out the main themes running through them. Sometimes, the essays end just at the point when analysis of the narrative seems in order. Still, for an easily accessible comparative look at the Hispanic islands in the nineteenth century, this book serves its purpose.

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*Internet Gambling Offshore: Caribbean Struggles over Casino Capitalism.* Andrew F. Cooper. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. xvii + 201 pp. (Cloth US\$ 85.00)

Chronicling the dispute between Antigua and the United States over offshore Internet gambling, this book is set against the backdrop of the historic speculative boom in finance that precipitated the global financial crisis. Antigua hosted offshore gambling operations that eventually brought it to the World Trade Organization (WTO) to argue—and win—its case against the United States. Other Caribbean islands meanwhile served booking functions for derivatives, insurance, and complicated subsidiary structures. Yet even in the wake of the financial crisis that began in 2008, official sanctions against financial speculation have been significantly weaker than those against offshore gambling. Furthermore, despite Antigua's win at the WTO, the United States was able to stop offshore Internet gambling. The international effort against Caribbean tax havens has not been as successful. This fascinating book helps explain why: U.S. politics are full of strange bedfellows, regulatory carve-outs for specific industries, and unlikely alliances that thwart easy International Relations (IR) accounts of power in the global political economy.

Since ancient times, gambling has faced moral stigma. One reason is the confounding of media of value with mechanisms of chance. States thus have sought to segregate gambling spatially from other economic activities (think Las Vegas . . . or Wall Street). The Internet complicates this enclaving. If you are physically in Ohio but logged into a server in Antigua, what is the connection—metaphysical, moral, legal—between the actions of your fingers, the transmission of data through wireless and fiber optic networks, and the act of gambling? There are obvious parallels to offshore finance: registering a company offshore creates a legal fiction that confounds space. Cooper argues that offshore gambling has been an easier target for international actors than offshore finance because the former is not as “decoupled” from the “real” economy as the latter: it relies on local ancillary labor, media, and advertising in order to achieve the scale to make it profitable (p. 43). Internet gambling is a mass phenomenon; its market is not the high net worth individuals of offshore finance but the common man, sitting at his computer, bored, looking to play some online poker or off-track betting.



A brief summary of the plot of this morality play: American and Israeli entrepreneurs sought to locate Internet gambling operations offshore to avoid U.S. regulations. The initial players were Silicon Valley-inspired start-ups. U.S. legislators reacted along somewhat predictable lines, American self-appointed guardians of morality wanting to stamp it out and progressive civil libertarians adopting a *laissez-faire* attitude. Other right-wing conservatives, staunch states' rights advocates (latter day Confederates) who are against federal power and taxation allied with the progressives—as they would later in light of efforts to curtail offshore finance. Still, the stigmatizers carried the day, tarring offshore gambling with the brush usually wielded by citizens' groups and NGOs that seek to shame bad corporate and state actors. This is an important point, as it problematizes IR theory about shaming in international politics (p. 64). Antigua's response was to activate the WTO. The normal international order of things was inverted, for often multilateral organizations serve the interests of their larger, more powerful members. The government of Antigua was able to operate quite effectively as a sovereign on the world stage despite the political perversities of the Bird administration. Cooper attributes this to a "resilience" (p. 65) borne of private-public partnerships between the government and several key individuals. The story appears at times to be one of "Antigua without Antiguan" (p. 67), but the centrality of Sir Ronald Sanders, former High Commissioner for Antigua, and the country's history in international affairs as a staunch advocate for democracy (ironically, given politics at home [p. 71]) tempers that assessment. Antigua had an "agility of purpose" on the international stage (p. 71), while its traditional allies, the United Kingdom and the European Union, chose not to come to its aid.

The win at the WTO was a hollow one, however: multilateral organizations operate through soft law rather than actual sanction. After its loss, the United States pursued offshore gambling unilaterally, arresting key figures and adopting an enforcement regime that gradually eroded the industry by blocking Internet advertising. The effort culminated, in 2006, with legislative prohibition.

Regardless, this is not the usual "script of an asymmetrical struggle" between a superpower and a small state (p. 168). There was no decisive victory for anyone here: Antigua could claim vindication from the WTO and a significant projection of its sovereignty globally—remarkable, for Jamaica

Kincaid's "small place" of only 70,000 people—yet not without the bitterness of its own internal disharmony. The United States could claim victory over vice, but it almost offered compensation and development aid—an implicit gesture of reparation—and was forced to negotiate (p. 166). Despite the Antigua/U.S. row, there has not been "a fundamental transformation in the United States about the legitimization of [Internet gambling]" (p. 148). Whether the same can be said about the legitimization of finance itself is another matter.

Cooper leans heavily on the late Susan Strange's appropriation of Keynes's "casino" metaphor (1986). For Keynes, speculation is not necessarily bad; but "when enterprise becomes the bubble on a whirlpool of speculation" and "the capital development of a country becomes a by-product of the activities of a casino, the job is likely to be ill-done" (1965:159). Cooper literalizes the metaphor, through a trenchant analysis of the economics, politics, and personalities of one Caribbean country's attempt to establish itself as a global power in a technologically innovative economic niche. The Internet brought gambling directly into the home; those self-same homes were about to become the star players in a gigantic morality tale about casino capitalism.

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*The Tourism Encounter: Fashioning Latin American Nations and Histories.* Florence E. Babb. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2011. xvii + 243 pp. (Paper US\$ 21.95)

In this examination of international tourism to four “post-conflict” regions of Latin America—Chiapas (Mexico), Cuba, Nicaragua, and Peru—Florence Babb elicits the notion of encounter in order to describe the interaction of different cultures and societies in the experience of tourism, without the assumption of any predetermined outcome. Thus, rather than use the travel industry’s hegemonic malignancy as a starting point, Babb’s idea of encounter functions much as Mary Louise Pratt’s ubiquitous “contact zone” does with respect to imperialism (Pratt 1992). In this case, it is intended to divest tourism of its long-standing verticality and to take account of the historically (and often economically) disadvantaged—those who are toured—in the process. This is where the “fashioning” of Babb’s title comes in. The sites under consideration have all undergone political transitions of varying degrees of violence, which in part explains their attraction to tourists either for forms of “political tourism” (Moynagh 2008) or “extreme pursuits” (Huggan 2009). In such destinations, which have yet to be spoiled by over-development, tourism has not only supplanted revolution but has also become a mechanism for the furthering of social transformation. One salient example concerns indigenous women in Mexico and the Andes, where—whether it be through the marketing of Zapatista dolls, the sale of *chola* Barbies, or their albeit still limited participation in home-stay visits—“we may find that what has been a social liability, being female and indigenous, has become in some cases a new form of cultural capital” (p. 153). While mindful of tourism’s well-documented ability to solidify relations of economic inequality in a global capitalist world, Babb points to the ways in which tourism can be used as a development strategy in postrevolutionary societies, where it can replace armed struggle to advance transformative agendas. As such, this study is congruent with other work emerging on tourism in Latin America, especially on Mexico (e.g. Berger & Grant Wood 2010), which illustrates how the industry can be more than a means of capitalist incorporation—one that is also capable of cultural affirmation (Saragoza 1998), or of constituting informal forms of political diplomacy (Berger 2006).

One of the strengths of *The Tourism Encounter* is undoubtedly its multi-sited approach, which allows both for a wide angle of vision on this complex topic and a number of illuminating comparisons of the four destinations. Babb records the apparent contradictions between Cuba's longstanding revolutionary politics and culture and its offerings of luxury hotels and resorts to the moneyed international tourist, outlining the way tour operators play down the Cuban Revolution in their itineraries in favor of the island's colonial heritage, beaches, and Hemingway haunts, perhaps because of competition with other Caribbean nations where tourism is associated with more mainstream leisure pursuits. Visitors to Nicaragua, meanwhile, often prove to be ignorant of its recent history of political revolution, which, despite the romantic images of Sandinista fighters emblazoned on tourist objects available there, also tends to be suppressed in "official" discourses, such as those of INTUR, for fear that it will act as an obstacle to developing tourism. On the other hand, Babb notes that well-circulated images of Che Guevara in Nicaragua "represent a safer, more remote . . . radicalism, and in other instances a deep longing at a time when Sandinista party politics are viewed as either 'watered down' or contaminated by a 'pact' between Sandinista and Liberal parties" (p. 62).

Such insights tend to be undermined, however, for this reader (whose home discipline is not anthropology), by the indeterminacy arising from Babb's avowedly "eclectic" (p. 14) methods. Admitting readily to a "scant" use of quantitative data, she expresses a preference for qualitative findings, featuring narratives from her research, in an exercise in which ethnography is declared to be "at the heart of [the] work" (p. 14). The prevalence of her research narratives means that many parts of the book read like travel writing, for *The Tourism Encounter*, despite the putative objectivity of its title, is in large part Babb's account of her own journey too. On one level, this is unsurprising, as the study is based on numerous visits she made to those countries (pp. 2-3), and travellers and anthropologists do indeed have much in common, not least their position as strangers translating (in) an exotic place to an audience back home. On another level, however, Babb appears to rely excessively on what seems like impressionistic evidence (for example, of a particular visit or tour experience) for her conclusions. This is a charge she anticipates in the book (p. 126) but does not altogether quell. Some passages have a decidedly unscientific or unrigorous air: the equivocalness of her Havana tour guide about the merits of tourism

becomes redolent of a “deeper [governmental] ambivalence”; even in the book’s more assured third section, Babb’s analysis of the experience of two *jinetteras* depends on frustratingly limited observation (“although I never observed [Ana] go off with anyone, if only because I did not stay out as late as she did. . . . Claudia was quite certain she was a *jinetera*” [p. 138], or again, “I left before I could learn more about where this was heading” [p. 139]). If one of the key differences between travel writing and ethnography is that the latter emphasizes the scientific over the anecdotal, this study does not always make a successful distinction, which is unfortunate in what is otherwise a timely volume.

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*Music of Latin America and the Caribbean*. Mark Brill. Upper Saddle River NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010. xiii + 402 pp. (Paper US\$ 60.00)

Mark Brill's *Music of Latin America and the Caribbean* is a textbook designed to introduce undergraduate students to a diversity of musical styles and genres and to explain the social, cultural, political, and aesthetic processes through which they emerged. Historical in orientation, it surveys the development of folk, popular, and art music traditions and the important social and historical forces that shaped them. As such, it provides a foundation for understanding common threads that link the historical trajectories of musical traditions of Latin American and Caribbean populations. Particularly noteworthy—and unusual in such surveys—is the inclusion of an entire chapter devoted to Western art music traditions of Latin America. Readers are encouraged to engage with recordings of the musical traditions through an accompanying set of two CDs (which must be purchased separately) and by way of recommended listening found throughout the text.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of Latin American/Caribbean musical cultures by identifying common processes and themes—colonization, globalization, cultural syncretism, the development of mestizo cultures—that molded musical development in the Western hemisphere. The impact of European conquest and control of the Americas is framed with a discussion of the competing ideologies of the Black and White legends. The emergence of mestizo musical cultures through the syncretic melding of (mainly) Native, European, and African elements common to New World cultures is presented in a way that prods readers to understand music as a transformative enterprise of identity construction. Establishing a theme that runs throughout the text, Brill argues that music, at its core, is a mechanism “for humans to express themselves, to identify to themselves and to others who they are, and to establish a sense of belonging” (p. 2). Chapter 2 is devoted entirely to European art music as it developed in Latin America from the colonial period through the twentieth century. Brill also shows how New World art music was infused with characteristics of Native, mestizo, and African musical activities that “went beyond European sensibilities and capabilities” (p. 41).

Chapters 3-9 discuss the musical traditions of six geographical/cultural areas of Latin America. Each one includes a historical overview and surveys representative folk and popular musical traditions. Chapter 3, on Mexico,

covers the country's rich precolonial past of Maya and Aztec musical heritage before turning to several genres of mestizo folk and popular music. As in other chapters, Brill includes the development of musical traditions that straddle political borders or have made substantial international impact, in this case, on the U.S./Mexican borderlands. Unexplained is the lack of attention to Central America here, except for a brief section on the Marimba traditions of southern Mexico and Guatemala. Chapter 4 includes a general introduction to the Caribbean area before focusing on music from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. Chapter 5 focuses on Jamaica, Trinidad, Haiti, Martinique and Guadeloupe, as well as the Garífuna of coastal Belize/Honduras. Unfortunately, Brill does not discuss the historical importance of the concept of creolization for the Caribbean area and its music.

Chapter 6 covers Brazilian music with sections on Carnival, music from the northeastern region, and the development of mainstream popular music. Frequent misspellings of terms and several instances of misinformation (such as characterizing *fossa* as one of the three most important rural styles from the Northeast) make this chapter problematic. Chapter 7 begins with an introduction to Hispanic South America before focusing on Colombia and Venezuela. The Colombian portion includes discussions of *bambuco*, *cumbia*, *punta*, *vallenato*, and *currulao* and a short section on Colombian salsa and *champeta*. Venezuela's mestizo music is represented through the rural and urban manifestations of the *joropo* while Afro-Venezuelan traditions are exemplified through a discussion of several syncretic celebrations to Catholic saints. Chapter 8, on the Andean region, emphasizes Peru and the influence of Native and mestizo cultures, and includes the most extensive description of musical instruments found in the book. Chapter 9 is on the Southern Cone with sections on Argentina and Chile. As might be expected, the tango occupies a central place as the most representative genre of Argentina's national identity while for Chile the development of *nueva canción* emphasizes the music's relation to political and social consciousness on a transnational scope.

As an introductory textbook, *The Music of Latin America and the Caribbean* provides a broad understanding of the importance of music in Latin American and the Caribbean. Its strength lies in establishing the historical trajectories and sociocultural contexts in which individual musical traditions have emerged as meaningful expressions of individuals and

communities. However, the book's lack of attention to Central America and the music of contemporary Native populations in lowland South America detracts from its usefulness. In addition, scholarly references and a listing of recommended readings to help guide the student to authoritative sources for information covered in the book would have been useful.

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*Dancehall: From Slave Ship to Ghetto*. Sonjah Stanley Niaah. Ottawa, Canada: University of Ottawa Press, 2010. xix + 238 pp. (Cloth US\$ 65.00)

Since their 1980s rise to dominance as a popular form of music and culture in Jamaica, dancehall music and culture remain critically under-researched and under-theorized in the academy, even while they continue to generate immense critical debate and social engagement in Jamaica and elsewhere. Carolyn Cooper's early celebratory feminist study (2004) stands as an important point of academic inquiry into this flashy and hyper-popular cultural form that has moved beyond Jamaica's borders through its diaspora, and into multiple transnational localities.

Stanley Niaah's *Dancehall* builds on the foundation set by multiple scholars (including Carolyn Cooper, Norman Stolzoff, Donna Hope, and others) and presents an ambitious attempt to theorize a performance geography of black popular culture, by tracing linkages from the slave ships, through a four-century time period into the contemporary spaces of Jamaica's popular dancehall music culture. She identifies the book as utilizing an ecological perspective "grounded in a cultural studies approach that holds trans/multidisciplinarity and inter/multitextuality as givens" (p. xvi) and argues that it "reclaims" three missing texts: space, event, and actors/acts that have been elided from earlier works on Jamaican dancehall.

As a study in performance geography and cultural studies, *Dancehall* provides readers with rich empirical data on the performance geography of Kingston's dancehall, including a mapping of some popular street dances, highlighting many that exploded in Jamaica at the turn of the millennium and beyond (pp. 93-94). It also offers a chronology of many popular dance names/styles that have run the gamut of dancehall's favorites during the period 1986-2009 (pp. 143-45). In addition, it identifies important actors in Jamaican dancehall, for example providing a useful biography of dancehall's master dancer, the late Gerald "Bogle" Levy (pp. 124-29), and highlighting the contribution of popular female dancers and dancehall queens like Stacey.

The critical overview of inner city dynamics and urban poverty in Kingston in Chapter 2 establishes a valuable foundation for the location of identity debates in the class-ridden maze of life in Kingston's ghettos. Stanley Niaah's treatment of these urban spaces is complemented by the argument that the ghetto experience in Kingston is further circumscribed by the

pervasive nature of violence, gang culture and “institutionalized warfare with the police’” (p. 46). She argues that dancehall’s inclusive potential is harnessed to provide a sense of solidarity and community, even if only at the psychic level. Thus, the use of space operates not just as action, but also as “process, operating on several economic, psychic, religious/spiritual, political and sociological planes” (p. 50).

The book’s novel presentation of the performance geography of Kingston’s dancehall is, however, dogged by the overwhelming, and at times unsuccessful, effort to link the empirical work on Kingston’s dancehall with historical and theoretical postulations about pre- and post-emancipation slave culture and transnational links to Africa. For example in Chapter 2, the temporal bridge fabricated between Spandex’s “drug mule” activities and the sometimes fatal recourse of captured Africans on a slave ship (jumping) lacks analytical depth and clear connectivity, while in Chapter 3, the attempt to link what is identified as the “peripatetic” nature of dance events to nomadism in pre-emancipation slave culture falls short.

Stanley Niaah articulates her theoretical debt to Paul Gilroy’s *The Black Atlantic* early (p. 17) and throughout the text, with her focus on the motifs of the slave ship, the plantation, and music as a counter-cultural force in its connection to Afro-diasporic culture. However, the theoretical and analytical strains in her book that resonate with Murray Forman’s 2004 work on space, place, and their articulations with race as a powered construct in American rap and hip hop receive no explicit acknowledgment. Forman’s book examines rap music, along with ancillary hip hop media including radio, music videos, rap press and the cinematic “hood” genre, and analyzes hip hop culture’s varying articulations of the terms “ghetto,” “inner-city,” and the “hood,” tracing an urban and cultural performance geography of how these spaces, both real and imaginary, are used to define individual and collective identity in the “hip hop nation.”

Stanley Niaah’s book makes critical theoretical inroads that provide a key signifier on the road map of dancehall’s transnational performance geography, and suggests genealogical commonalities between dancehall and related forms such as South African Kwaito and Latin American Reggaeton. Yet, the analytical and descriptive overview of these music cultures is presented in condensed format in the final chapter, with limited discussion of their signifiers, forms, and formats and the musical, social, or cultural relationships with Jamaica and dancehall music culture. An extensive

treatment of these genealogical commonalities in subsequent work would highlight the obviously rich empirical research Stanley Niaah has done and provide uninitiated readers with clearer insight on the music and culture formations under discussion.

*Dancehall: From Slave Ship to Ghetto* complements the growing body of work on the ecology and topography of Jamaican dancehall. It is an important tool for graduate students, researchers, and academics interested in performance geography, cultural studies, and Jamaican dancehall culture.

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*Babylon East: Performing, Dancehall, Roots Reggae, and Rastafari in Japan.* Marvin D. Sterling. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2010. xvi + 299 pp. (Paper US\$ 23.95)

*Babylon East* is about the global imagination of race. Marvin Sterling establishes early his interest in extending scholarship on race beyond the discussion of dialog between the West and the postcolonial non-West, to the race politics that emerge in Afro-Asian encounters. This he achieves admirably in his multi-sited ethnography of Japanese consumptions of Jamaica. Sterling's interpretations of Japanese dancehall, roots reggae, and Rastafari form a spectacular mosaic of identity politics that will bring new life to weary minds.

The book's material is both clearly framed and intricately interpreted. It opens, more or less, with an outline of the development of ideas of cultural difference in Japan. Much scholarship discusses how ideas of Japanese cultural peculiarity have conventionally emerged in conversation with the West. But, Sterling argues, in contemporary Japan, "the public discourse of Japaneseness . . . has come to invoke the world at large beyond the West" (p. 20).

For many, this process of invoking serves to reinforce ideas of Japanese uniqueness and cultural homogeneity. Disposable accessories, such as fake dreadlocks donned by audiences at reggae shows, alongside dream catchers and the like, join the global ethnic stew—the *esunikku*—"removed in time for work the next day" (p. 21). But the donnettes, DJs, and dreads that are the subjects of Sterling's book provide evidence of how such engagements can go beyond mere hedonistic consumption of the *esunikku*, to inspire Japanese people's deep personal investment in this culture from afar. The politics that motivate this investment are the main object of Sterling's analysis.

Discussion of an additional ideological thread—that of global discourses of race (the colonial-modern, the postcolonial and the global postmodern)—is wisely left until the closing of the book. This bookending, with discussion of the context of discourses of Japanese uniqueness at the beginning, and that of global discourses of race at the end, allows Sterling to explore a complex ideological environment without making his argument too convoluted to grasp. In *Babylon East* discourses of Japanese uniqueness and global ideologies of blackness overlap and intertwine in what

Sterling, with nods to Victor Turner and Judith Butler, refers to as spaces of “thirdness—not man or woman, not foreign or Japanese” (p. 52). Thirdness describes the spaces in which dancehall and Rastafari are performed.

Sterling’s presentation of his field materials kicks off with two victories. In 1999, the Japanese sound system Mighty Crown won at World Clash, the top global competition for dancehall sound systems. Three years later, the Japanese reggae dancer (donnette), Junko Kudo, won the National Dancehall Queen Competition in Jamaica. Sterling frames his discussion of Japanese sound systems and donnettes (Chapters 2 and 3) as one of the dramatic constitution of Japan as an “authentic node of . . . international dancehall culture” (p. 62). The question of authenticity is equally core to Chapter 4, in which Sterling brings readers to a rurally-based, Rastafarian community’s participation in a broadly-celebrated annual religious festival. But in all of the cases, the dramatic constitution of authenticity not only takes place at shows and festivals; it also proceeds through travel to Jamaica. Japanese donnettes, DJs, and dreads travel to Jamaica in pursuit of subcultural capital, such as adeptness at speaking in Jamaican patois, a process Sterling deftly refers to as “seeking to prove their mettle at the artistic source” (p. 127). These pursuits, as well as dancehall performances and Rasta observances, create a realm of thirdness—a volatile space in which race is renegotiated but rarely divorced from structural racism. This perspective forces the analyst to persistently consider delicate questions of domestication and subversion.

For Sterling, the politics of race is never straightforward. *Babylon East* is so considered and so diligent that multiple possibilities often inhere in the discussion of any one phenomenon. For example, Sterling firmly insists that racism plays a part in Japanese consumptions of Jamaica. At the same time, he remains open to the possibility that such consumptions may contest racism:

It is reasonable to expect Japanese people to adopt reggae, this music they love, on terms they can understand . . . Yet this adoption is realized through structural racisms which facilitate the first world’s gazing at, and taking from, black people with little concern or need for black opinion . . .

Is there a realistic scenario in which Japanese today can avoid engaging in structural racism in their adoptions of Jamaican culture? For me, the short answer is no . . . However, I want to foreground the agency of the individual in structural racism in order to consider the possibility that individual Japanese, though to some degree necessarily

working within the order of structural racism, can still engage in reggae subcultural and Rasta religious practices that might undermine this racism. (p. 27)

What makes Sterling's study so rich? Is it perhaps that he, as a black Jamaican ethnographer casting his gaze at a powerful Japan, is personally attuned to the thorny politics of negotiating blackness as an Afro-Asian space? He is surely unusually positioned in this ethnography. But if both ethnography and race are to be seen as features of the colonial modern, then all ethnographers must be racially invested in their interpretations of the field, and Sterling not necessarily more or less so. He mentions his black Jamaican-ness only in passing, and does not make it central. He makes no explicit claims to write a postcolonial ethnography. One reading of Sterling's method, his dissatisfaction with easy theorizing, could be that it is self-conscious, but another could be that it is simply that of a restless writer.

*Babylon East* is a joy to read. It will not only inform scholarship on race, but can also be counted as one of the most vivid and eloquent ethnographies of popular music in Asia.

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*Different Drummers: Rhythm and Race in the Americas.* Martin Munro. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010. ix + 280 pp. (Cloth US\$ 27.50)

Scholars of music have for some time remarked on how, in the Americas, racial identifications and music have been connected, with the prominence of rhythm frequently associated by different observers with blackness, and linked (often, but not only, by non-black observers), to threat, immorality and primitiveness. Munro, a specialist in Francophone Caribbean literatures who has published extensively on Haiti, uses rhythm as a route through the racialized histories of Haiti, Trinidad, the French Caribbean, and mid-century U.S. funk. In four central chapters, he traces how black people in each context developed musical forms, with rhythm as a central element, which both reflected and stimulated social processes.

In Haiti, after the revolution, black music was initially rejected and repressed by new black and mulatto elites, who distanced themselves from its perceived primitiveness and links to Vodou religion. Later, in the context of U.S. occupation (1915–34), Haitian indigenism flowered and valorized music seen as authentically national. In Trinidad, the more typically colonial regime led to the consistent repression of working-class black music by colonial authorities, with carnival as the main battleground, until after independence, when certain working-class styles, such as calypso, again became part of a nationalist agenda. In Guadeloupe and Martinique, the *négritude* movement, which started in the 1930s, attempted to link blackness to a natural rhythmic musicality, but this did not manage to become part of a nationalist appropriation; instead it was subjected to critiques by other black intellectuals, such as Frantz Fanon, and novelists, such as Édouard Glissant, who integrated music and rhythm in less essentialist ways into their representations of everyday life on the islands. Finally, James Brown's funk revolution was read by black cultural nationalists—Munro focuses on Amiri Baraka—as reflecting the essence of blackness, but, Munro argues, not only was this essentialism critiqued by others such as Ralph Ellison, but Brown and his music escaped the confines of essentialism, partly through their global appeal.

In his introduction, Munro makes the important point that rhythm was a central part of vernacular culture in European societies before the Discoveries and that the powerful association of blackness with rhythm emerged in the context of New World slavery and racial dynamics. His conclusion

argues for an auditory sensibility in history, to complement the current interest in visuality, and usefully draws together the four central chapters. Here I would have liked to see some more attention to what “rhythm” is and what its relationship is to “repetition”—terms that Munro tends to conflate.

Although rhythm forms the book’s guiding thread, the chapters themselves are rather uneven. The account of Haiti smacks of a potted history—familiar to readers of Michael Dash, David Nicholls, Michael Largey, and Gage Averill—with a section on nineteenth-century poetry thrown in. The Trinidad chapter runs through a social history of carnival, heavily reliant on secondary sources, with some attention given to calypso lyrics. There is a sudden gear-change with the Francophone Caribbean, as Munro analyzes in depth the verse of Aimé Césaire and other *négritude* poets, and then novels by Joseph Zobel, Édouard Glissant and Daniel Maximin. I felt that Munro was more in his element on this literary terrain, as he brings out with great skill the way race and rhythm figure in these writers’ works. The chapter on James Brown gets to grips, finally, with rhythm in a more musicological mode, as Munro is able to use sources that tackle this aspect in detail. The account of how Baraka and others perceived Brown is also nicely handled.

Despite this unevenness—which some readers may see as a strength, addressing rhythm and race from different angles, using different sources—Munro has produced a good book, which convinces in the end. Its strength lies in its historical depth and geographical range (including the Hispanic Caribbean would have been a nice idea, but possibly a bridge too far). Munro manages to bring out the temporal durability and diasporic connectivity of ideas and practices of rhythm—particularly percussion and especially the drum—and how they have related to ideas about racial identity. In doing this, there is always the danger that the book will, despite best intentions, reinforce a link between blackness and rhythmicity—a danger that perhaps looms largest in the chapter on Trinidad. But generally, Munro avoids this, partly by addressing head-on the question of essentialism and naturalization (especially in the chapters on the French Caribbean and James Brown), but also by focusing the overall narrative of the book on the idea that the association of blackness with rhythm is a New World construction.



He is also sensitive to the specter of dualism, which threatens to simplistically oppose black working classes and their rhythms to non-black dominant classes. Although in the Trinidad chapter again, the specter sometimes haunts, it is also in this chapter that Munro mentions the complex interactions between classes: “both sides of the divide were ‘contaminated’ by the other . . . the one drew its legitimacy from and fed off the other” (p. 99). Moreover, the historical depth of the book demonstrates how musical styles travel across class-race boundaries and change their class and racial connotations over time.

Although much of the material and ideas in this book will be familiar to scholars of Caribbean music, Munro skilfully draws them together in a way that convincingly and usefully highlights the central role of rhythm in the racial dynamics of the Americas.

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*Dub in Babylon: Understanding the Evolution and Significance of Dub Reggae in Jamaica and Britain from King Tubby to Post-punk.* Christopher Partridge. London: Equinox, 2010. xiv + 319 pp. (Paper US\$ 28.95)

Joining the small yet growing body of scholarly work on Jamaican popular music, *Dub in Babylon* is a valuable contribution to the historiography of the global dispersion of Afro-diasporic cultural forms in the twentieth century. In what might be read as a response to Paul Gilroy's recent call for a detailed history of "the special period in which black Atlantic music . . . turned into a planetary force" (2010:121), Christopher Partridge's book provides an incisive account of the extension of Jamaican cultural production through transnational networks in postimperial Britain. Deploying a multidisciplinary approach that draws upon popular music studies, cultural criticism, and religious studies, it examines the larger cultural meanings associated with dub, a genre of electronic music that emerged during the early 1970s in Jamaica and spread to the United Kingdom shortly after. It is Partridge's elucidation of dub's "ouernational" impact and its socio-political, cultural, and religious significance for 1970s Britain, which he views as "a particularly fertile period for the genre and the principal country within which it was initially developed outside of Jamaica" (p. xi), that distinguishes this book from Michael E. Veal's pioneering study *Dub: Soundscapes and Shattered Songs in Jamaican Reggae*.

*Dub in Babylon* is organized into two distinctive, yet intertwined, narratives. The first part centers on the history and core politico-religious ideas of Rastafarianism and its interconnectedness with reggae and dub. Moreover, it examines the reception of the Rastafari movement and its culture in postwar Britain as well as the emergence of both musical genres in Jamaica. The second part, which comprises the bulk of the study and represents Partridge's main contribution to the field, examines dub's musical reception as well as its wider cultural and political impact in both black British and white subcultural settings in the multiracial United Kingdom of the 1970s and early 1980s. Interspersing his narrative with case studies of important dub practitioners such as King Tubby, Lee "Scratch" Perry, and Adrian Sherwood, Partridge deploys what he denotes as a "dub methodology." Whereas the first part is concerned with the creation of dub's sound and its attendant ideas, the second part illuminates the "reflection of the sound, its reception by listeners who are hearing it after a period of delay

and the consequences of that delay on the sound and the ideas with which it was originally invested" (p. xii). Mirroring this homologous methodology, Partridge's central claim is that the spread and reception of dub in the United Kingdom led to a significant shift in the music's meaning, which brought about a gradual dilution of the original Jamaican liberationist discourse.

Chapter 1 traces the confluence of socio-cultural, political, and religious ideas derived from various streams of Afro-Christianity, which spawned the emergence of Rastafarianism in the early 1930s as well as the movement's impact after it spread to the United Kingdom in the 1950s. Chapter 2 illuminates the advent of dub as an explicitly religious and "occultural" art, which simultaneously has been invested with political and liberationist signification. Chapter 3 situates the music's production, circulation, and reception in a "second Babylon" in which the postwar United Kingdom underwent a socio-cultural reshaping in the wake of its African Caribbean mass migration. The next chapter explores U.K. subcultural exchange of the mid-1970s between punk, reggae, and dub as well as the work of the U.K.'s foremost dub poet Linton Kwesi Johnson. This exchange became an important medium of socio-political change, which influenced the world-views of white urban youths, thereby contributing significantly to the rise of an antiracism movement. Focusing on the work of Adrian Sherwood and important artists associated with his On-U Sound record label, the final chapter locates British 1980s postpunk dub within the discursive matrix of postmodernism in which sonic signifiers became free-floating and increasingly detached from their original context, thereby undermining the music's religio-political signification.

Cutting across lines of race, nation, and class, *Dub in Babylon* offers a much-needed desegregation of music historiography and an insightful account of the complex dynamics surrounding the transcultural diffusion of black musical knowledge. Given the significance of the foregrounding of technological mediation and electronic sound processing in dub, the book would have benefited from a greater engagement with recent scholarship on the interface between race and technology beyond the conceptual confines of Afrofuturism. At times Partridge's discussion of the mid-1970s alliance between reggae/dub and punk musicians tends to skim over questions concerning the nexus between power and cultural mobility pertinent to a dynamic that he conceives of in terms of an "appropriation of the signs

and meanings produced within black culture" (p. 189). Key figure and deejay Don Letts's quote that "a lot of young people during the mid-seventies were taking what they needed from Rastafari and left what they didn't" (p. 247) seems to suggest that this alliance was not without its discontents. Aside from these minor quibbles, *Dub in Babylon* is a valuable contribution to the opening of a critical space, which is concerned with transpositions, adaptations, and representations of Afro-diasporic cultural knowledge in the black Atlantic continuum.

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*La fusion de la culture hip-hop et du mouvement rastafari.* Steve Gadet. Paris: L'Harmattan. 2010. 267 pp. (Paper € 26.00)

The relationship between the United States of America and the Caribbean region represents a complex field of enquiry, where history, economics, families, migrations, and cultures are intimately entangled over time and space. This is particularly true for issues related to black popular culture, represented here as a fluid and hybrid social construct characterized by interculturality and mediation (p. 27). With a sociological approach enriched by the concepts of “glocal cultures” and “creolization,” Steve Gadet’s book is an important contribution to the understanding and analysis of the entanglement of two cultural practices: the Rastafari movement from Jamaica and the hip-hop movement from the United States. Both locally rooted and relevant, each one has achieved international fame and significance. They serve simultaneously the identity construct of black youth and of multi-ethnic youth (pp. 66, 70, and 112), though the latter is an issue not addressed directly in this book. Gadet’s work seeks to track the points of convergence, divergence, and exchange between Rastafari and hip-hop cultures.

The book begins by exploring the diffusion of the hip-hop movement in Jamaica and the Rastafari movement in the United States, facilitated by medias and the music industry. While Gadet underlines that the practices of the two movements differ, he postulates that they have a similar objective: to claim the fullness of an identity in societies that deny their contribution and their creativity to black communities (p. 33). As examples of this process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization (p. 61) of popular cultures between the United States and Jamaica, he introduces Jamaican male rappers who have traveled and/or lived abroad. Hip-hop in Jamaica seems clearly influenced by its production in the United States. Gadet then turns to the Rastafari movement in the United States, and notes that focusing on the issue of consumption of cannabis by Rastas has often been used to silence the significance of the social organization of the movement there. He stresses that reggae music has been the main vector of diffusion and transmission of symbols, behaviors, and practices attributed to Rastafari. However the limits as to who and what is Rastafari remain unclear, particularly when Rastafari is related to reggae production (p. 163) and cannabis dealing (pp. 67, 149).

In the second part of the book, Gadet sets out to define the causes of intercultural transfers between hip-hop and Rastafari. He identifies the migrations between the Caribbean and the United States as a cause of intercultural transfers. Not a new phenomenon, it is well established that these migrations have been influential on politics, culture, and society in both places since the abolition of slavery. Gadet examines the dynamics of Caribbean integration in New York, as well as the ambiguous relationship that Caribbean nationals have with African Americans, which forces them to choose between an ethnic identity (for example Jamaican) or an American identity (even though being African American could be labeled as ethnic identity). There Gadet tries to clarify what is being called a “black diaspora” through the discussion of references in French on the issue. His point is that black people in the United States and the Caribbean have lived a similar experience of slavery, oppression, and resistance. As a consequence, a “sociological and cultural bridge” (p. 83) between black people in the United States and in the Caribbean has facilitated the convergence of two cultural phenomena, the Rastafari movement and the hip-hop movement.

The third part opens with a methodological introduction which raises a number of questions concerning intercultural transfers, the reciprocity of exchanges between cultures, and the changing significance of travelling signs, symbols, discourses, and beliefs (p. 111). It is not quite clear why this discussion is situated here. Had it been placed at the beginning, it would have benefited the whole book. In order to study the “ideological transfers” between Rastafari and hip-hop, Gadet points to the similar role of these movements in the resurgence of black nationalism among the youth and to their divergent uses of drugs (cannabis sativa and cocaine). Regarding the “musical transfers” between rap and reggae, he reminds readers how soul and blues influenced reggae and how reggae influenced hip-hop and rap. He compares the themes approached in both reggae and rap lyrics, finding a number of commonalities.

The last chapter presents what Gadet calls the “Rastafari-Hip-Hop” movement, exemplifying the hybridity at work with Rastafari artists who express themselves through rap music. He studies two groups, InI Mighty Lockdown and Duo Live, made up of artists of Caribbean origins who live and work in New York. With interesting data from the field, Gadet eventually demonstrates that the appropriation and juxtaposition of both move-

ments by these artists is a way to define their identity, which is being crafted jointly by their Caribbean roots and their U.S. environment.

While the challenges of writing about the continuous relationship between different cultural spaces cannot be overlooked, the choice of a more chronological approach would have reinforced Gadet's thesis about the existence of a dynamic process of intercultural exchanges between Jamaica and the United States. Moreover, it would have left room for additional data about the "Rastafari-Hip-Hop" actors, their creative production, their audience, and their significance on the local stage. The main shortcoming of this book lies in its bibliographical apparatus. Footnotes are often incomplete and of disparate formatting, and some references do not appear in the bibliography, which is fragmented into twelve categories. Nevertheless, the book represents an important contribution to the analysis of contemporary hybrid urban popular cultures.

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*Cuban Ballet*. Octavio Roca. Layton UT: Gibbs Smith, 2010. 240 pp. (Cloth US\$ 40.00)

In 1981, Walter Terry published *Alicia and her Ballet Nacional de Cuba*, a valuable chronicle of the career of Alicia Alonso and the cultivation of ballet in her country since the 1930s. Now Octavio Roca updates the literature in English about the Cuban ballet, revisiting its history and covering more recent developments. He addresses the flourishing of male dancing in Cuba in the last twenty-five years, which has produced international stars such as Carlos Acosta and José Carreño. He also writes extensively about the transnational face of the Cuban ballet today. A plethora of dancers, like Acosta and Carreño, have left the island since the 1990s to headline troupes ranging from the Royal Ballet (London) to the American Ballet Theatre (New York). In particular, Roca highlights the success stories of the sisters Lorena and Lorna Feijóo, first-rank dancers of the San Francisco and Boston Ballets respectively. A Cuban exile himself, Roca relates these migration tales with patriotic pride, adopting the Cuban diaspora's familiar self-narrative of triumphs and exceptionalism. Although the tone can be overtly celebratory, in stressing how the island's dancers are major players in international ballet circuits, he contributes to a discussion of the global character of contemporary ballet, showing how international commingling has become the norm in most ensembles, with Asians, Europeans, Latinos, and North Americans working together. Roca also documents how the migration of dancers from Cuba has helped turn Miami into a vibrant city for ballet.

The book complements histories written on the island, where commentators such as Pedro Simón and Miguel Cabrera have made indispensable contributions to the study of the Cuban ballet, but from official perspectives that glorify Alonso and her company, the Ballet Nacional de Cuba (BNC) (Rey & Simón 1996, Cabrera 1998). In political terms, these authors underline the Cuban government's important support of ballet and, for the most part, are silent about the mass of Cuban dancers working abroad and deemed defectors. Roca, too, praises the many achievements of Alonso and the BNC, but he also indicates that the dance form faces stagnation on the island due to the local economic conditions, lack of freedom, and brain drain, as well as Alonso's refusal to step down as the troupe's director, though she is ninety years old. While acknowledging that state support has been essential to the growth of ballet in Cuba, Roca exposes problematic



aspects of the relationship between ballet and the Revolution: members of Alonso's family were persecuted and even executed by Castro's regime; dancers were marginalized or dismissed on the basis of their religious beliefs, sexual orientation, and political views; and defectors were banned from dancing again in Havana. In Roca's view, Alonso adjusted to Cuban politics to foster her own enterprise of developing ballet locally—serving as a cultural ambassador of the Revolution, yet rescuing persecuted gay dancers from prison. He does not pass conclusive political judgment on her, adducing that she will be remembered as an artist, not as a player in local politics.

Roca, a dance critic for several American newspapers, most notably the *San Francisco Chronicle*, has followed the international trajectories of Alonso, the BNC, and the many Cuban dancers working in U.S. ensembles. Additionally, he studied the Cuban ballet *in situ* during frequent trips to Havana and interviewed Alonso, as well as her relatives and other Cuban dancers, several times. These sources often reveal details not published anywhere else, ranging from anecdotes about the Alonso family to stories about Cuban politics. Unfortunately, not all the information in the book is documented in detail. For example, while there is no doubt that homosexuals and religious people were repressed in Cuba during the 1960s and 1970s, it is unclear whose testimony Roca cites when he indicates that within the BNC male dancers were pressured to marry by the age of twenty-five (to deflect any suspicions of homosexuality) and that religious students in the National School of Ballet were dismissed (p. 122). Perhaps Roca chose to protect the identity of his sources, but no notes about it appear in the text.

In a substantial foreword, Alonso summarizes key aspects of the Cuban ballet's philosophy—ideas that she has previously discussed in numerous articles in Spanish (Alonso 2004). Her essay, posing the question of what makes the Cuban ballet Cuban, exemplifies the way these dancers articulate a national identity in their performance style and training methods but also in discourse, through systematic analysis of their distinctive features. Such concerns about a Cuban aesthetics reflect the deep nationalism that defines the island's artistic production (Tomé 2011). In a second foreword, Mikhail Baryshnikov writes about the excellence of Cuban dancers, confirming their high status on international stages. Indeed, far from occupying a position in the periphery, the Cuban ballet has, more often than not, been on a par with the Russian, European, and North American ballet

traditions. As Roca stresses, throughout her career Alonso made significant contributions to the dance form by raising standards of technique, enriching performance traditions, and revitalizing the choreography of classics such as *Giselle* and *Coppélia*. In this sense, the Cuban ballet prompted a postcolonial repositioning of the country's dance culture. Subverting the expectations of most international consumers of Cuban dance, the birthplace of conga, rumba, mambo and cha-cha-chá became a respected center of ballet culture, not only a producer of "exotic" local dances but also the cosmopolitan expression of the "high" art that ballet is (Tomé 2011).

This lavish volume, printed on large-format glossy paper and with an attractive design, features over 178 illustrations, many of them rare photographs from Alonso's personal collection.

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*Critical Perspectives on Caribbean Literature and Culture*. Dorsía Smith, Tatiana Tagirova & Suzanna Engman (eds.). Newcastle, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars, 2010. vi + 228 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.95)

*Critical Perspectives on Caribbean Literature and Culture* sets out to “explore the Caribbean as a diasporic space” through the prism of “literary and cultural systems” (p. 2). Deriving from the proceedings of the 2008 “Caribbean Without Borders” conference held in Puerto Rico, this collection of twelve essays examines work by a range of Caribbean writers, covering issues such as creolization and cross-cultural identity, migration, tourism, U.S. imperialism, political activism, and gender and sexuality. The unifying theme, argue the editors, is the hybridity of Caribbean culture and the way in which it defies borders. Most of the subsequent essays, however, would seem to complicate this assertion. Indeed, if there is a unifying theme to the volume, it is the difficulties posed by borders of all kinds when it comes to the negotiation of individual and collective identities.

The collection is split into three sections, the first of which opens with poet and artist Lelawattée Manoo-Rahming asking whether, in a Caribbean without borders, we will be “together yet separate and distinct as in fruit salad or blended together like fruit punch” (p. 7). Having added this new metaphor to the lexicon of terms used to describe Caribbean cultural identity (alongside, for example, the image of callaloo soup and Derek Walcott’s reconstructed vase), Manoo-Rahming goes on to explore the various barriers that continue to frustrate such utopian visions.

The remaining three essays in this section analyze the impact of pressures around gender and sexuality on identity formation. Chihoko Matsuda offers a reading of Walcott’s 1983 play, *A Branch of the Blue Nile*, while Margarita Castromán considers the representation of homosexuality in Puerto Rican diasporic literature. Castromán’s primary focus is Luisita López Torregrosa’s 2004 memoir, *The Noise of Infinite Longing*, which, she argues, depicts a silenced and suppressed female voice but is unable “to fully speak and embrace the queer Diaspora” (p. 46). Rafael Miguel Montes’s essay, “Jockeying for Position,” is a thoughtful engagement with the portrayal of sexual and political economies in Pedro Juan Gutiérrez’s *Dirty Havana Trilogy*. Montes’s central claim is that through Gutiérrez’s novel, we gain a sense of how the rise of sex tourism in Cuba during the *período especial* has impacted on the population’s understanding of, and approach to, sexual

and social relationships more generally. In contrast to some of the celebrations of a borderless condition elsewhere in the volume, this article is notable for the way it highlights how a lack of borders—in this instance borders to prevent the influx of foreign capital—can itself be problematic.

The second section addresses issues of creolization, hybridity, and the representation of subaltern identities. Josune Urbistondo considers the role of music in Earl Lovelace's *The Dragon Can't Dance* and Peter Henzell's film *The Harder They Come*, while Tatiana Tagirova analyzes the influence of nineteenth-century Russian literature, and in particular the work of Tolstoy, on Claude McKay's fiction. Her essay offers some intriguing commentary on how McKay drew on and reworked Tolstoy's ideas in his effort to create an original literary voice, but it does not move much beyond pointing out how both authors placed an emphasis on taking pride in native or peasant roots. Similarly, both Suzanna Engman's article comparing Wilson Harris's *Jonestown* with Erna Brodber's *Louisiana* and the article by Karen Sands O'Connor and Caroline Hagood on the representation of the Caribbean (and especially Vodou) in U.S. popular culture deal with fascinating subject matter but might possibly have gone further in their analyses.

The final section, "Deconstructing the Diaspora," is orientated around questions of political activism and responses to state violence. It begins with Dorsía Smith's examination of the use of nation language in the work of Louise Bennett and Linton Kwesi Johnson. This is followed by a strong essay from Karen Mah-Chamberlain on the different kinds of power relationships at play in Sam Selvon's *Those Who Eat The Cascadura*. Marta S. Rivera Monclova's article on Edgardo Vega Yunque's *The Lamentable Journey of Omaha Bigelow* . . . touches on a range of issues related to the historical experience of the Puerto Rican diaspora in New York City's Lower East Side, including struggles over public housing and the social impact of the built environment. The collection closes with Mary Jo Caruso's essay on Edwidge Danticat's *The Farming of the Bones* and *Brother I'm Dying*, which she reads in relation to Danticat's commitment to political activism.

Overall, this is something of an uneven book. Despite the editors' emphasis in the introduction on defying borders and offering a "comprehensive" perspective on the Caribbean region, the essays focus almost exclusively on Anglophone and Hispanophone works. Aside from the article on Danticat and Haiti, there is nothing on the Francophone or Dutch Caribbean. A longer introduction might also have taken a more critical look at

the discourses around hybridity and the dissolution of borders, not least because, as several of the essays demonstrate, these discourses can be used to prop up or mask exploitative power relations just as much as they can serve emancipatory ends. As a whole, the collection does not really place any new hermeneutical or methodological frameworks on the table (the hybridity paradigm is no longer the “novel perspective” the editors claim [p. 3]). Nevertheless, there are some interesting individual articles here that help bring to attention some currently understudied writers and texts.

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*Asylum Speakers: Caribbean Refugees and Testimonial Discourse.* April Ann Shemak. New York: Fordham University Press, 2011. ix + 310 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

It is one of those nicely ambiguous words: asylum offers protection to the persecuted, but it's also an institution where people get locked away. Refugees seek asylum, although in the present day not many Caribbean refugees find it in the United States, unless they are fleeing from Cuba. Some end up locked away, or returned home—which might be worse. *Asylum Speakers*, though, is concerned less with the actual experiences of Caribbean refugees than with their testimonies, real and fictional, read within the context of a carefully articulated poetics of hospitality. April Shemak's approach makes for an original and interesting book which places the figure of the "refugee" firmly at the center of contemporary Caribbean Studies.

There are five chapters framed by a lengthy introduction and a short epilogue. The introduction mostly discusses the book's key terms: hospitality, refugee, migrant, testimony. All are used with an appropriate degree of looseness. This isn't a work of political science or of international human rights, so "refugee" is taken to apply widely to those seeking escape from repression or from poverty, often into the United States but sometimes across other borders, such as Haitians entering the Dominican Republic. The term "testimony" uses Latin American *testimonio* as its point of anchorage, but Shemak allows it to refer to other kinds of bearing witness. "Hospitality" is the most important of the nontitular terms, with Shemak managing to draw tactfully on Jacques Derrida's work in this area. Other theoretical ideas by Caribbean writers such as Wilson Harris and Édouard Glissant help supply the book's framework, and Shemak makes her own contribution with a neat consideration of the U.S. Coast Guard term "interdiction," which proves ripe for troping into the new critical term "inter-diction."

Three of the chapters have a mainly Haitian focus. The first takes as its subject matter the narratives of boat refugees, using the texts from asylum interviews alongside the stories and essays of Nikol Pàyen and Edward Kamau Brathwaite's poem "Dream Haiti." The second analyzes the archive of photographs held by the U.S. Coast Guard. The third looks at the 1991 U.S. congressional hearings about the plight of Haitian cane cutters in the

Dominican Republic—hearings to which no actual Haitian cane cutters were invited, a silence which Shemak fills by a long and detailed analysis of Edwidge Danticat's powerful 1998 novel, *The Farming of Bones*. The fourth chapter then looks at the particular and understudied case of refugee seafarers, an important category for the extended Caribbean which constitutes the implicit geography of *Asylum Speakers*. Here the discussion is grounded by a reading of Francisco Goldman's 1997 novel, *The Ordinary Seaman*, set in the northern Caribbean outpost of Brooklyn. The final chapter focuses on Dominican and Cuban refugee narratives, the latter in particular—unlike those considered in the rest of the book—offering stories of settlement in a new land. Here Julia Alvarez, Ivonne Lamazares, and Cecilia Rodríguez Milanés are the main writers discussed.

Although one of the strengths of *Asylum Speakers* is its range of textual reference, Edwidge Danticat's name is threaded through Shemak's story, above and beyond the long and impressive analysis of *The Farming of Bones*. The book begins with Danticat's terrifying account in her 2007 memoir, *Brother, I'm Dying*, of the death of Joseph Dantica, her 81-year-old uncle, after his interrogation by U.S. immigration authorities at Miami International Airport in 2004. Chapter 1 includes analysis of her story, "Children of the Sea," and the epilogue—written just weeks after the 2010 earthquake—notes Danticat's *New Yorker* piece on the death in that earthquake of her cousin Maxo, Joseph Dantica's son.

Issues of representation, witnessing, testimony, narrative authority, translation, and native information are all raised and discussed with intelligence throughout *Asylum Speakers*. There are a few pedestrian signs of the book's origins as a dissertation, and the analysis of visual material is less convincing than that of the novels. Overall, however, this is a well-framed book in the sense that it draws its boundaries in an unusually interesting manner, bringing fictional and nonfictional texts into dialogue with each other and extending the usual range of Caribbean criticism in order to introduce understudied novels like *The Ordinary Seaman*. Following in the wake of such scholars as Elizabeth DeLoughrey (2007, 2010) and Steven Mentz (2009), the end product offers a fine Caribbean contribution to the developing field of "blue cultural studies."

As Édouard Glissant noted in *Poetics of Relation*: "We cry our cry of poetry. Our boats are open, and we sail them for everyone" (quoted p. 45).

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*Cuba's Wild East: A Literary Geography of Oriente*. Peter Hulme. Liverpool, U.K.: Liverpool University Press, 2011. xii + 455 pp. (Cloth £70.00)

In *Cuba's Wild East*, Peter Hulme persuasively demonstrates that a substantial portion of the English-language fiction and non-fiction written about Cuba has focused on the old Cuban province of Oriente. Given the proliferation of Havana-centered writing during the last two decades, this idea seems counter-intuitive; however, Hulme leaves no doubt that the images of Cuba sustained by English readers have been shaped in many ways by travelers, visitors, and writers for whom Oriente province became representative of the whole of the island.

In Cuba it is well known that wars and revolutions always begin at the eastern end of the island, in Oriente. The first major uprising against Spain, the Ten Year War (1868-78), began in Oriente; so did the 1895 Cuban War of Independence, though it was soon truncated by U.S. intervention. The "splendid little war" of 1898, famously involving Theodore Roosevelt among others, took place also in Oriente, primarily around the port cities of Santiago and Guantánamo. More recently, the guerrilla war led by Fidel Castro against the dictator Fulgencio Batista also developed in the Sierra Maestra and nearby mountains of Oriente.

Oriente province's ruggedness, isolation, and socio-historical differences from Havana and other economic and political centers in Cuba's west, made the area well-fitted for the foment of revolution, thus converting it into an exciting destination for writers from other parts of the island. Cuban poet and patriot José Martí detailed the few weeks he spent in Oriente in a touching campaign diary that doubles as a fascinating prose poem. Writer and activist Pablo de la Torriente Brau also reported in epic tones on Cuban peasant uprisings in Oriente in the 1930s.

Hulme details how prominent U.S. correspondents and writers flocked to Oriente to cover the insurgencies and/or to meet with Cuban military leaders during the Ten Year War, the Cuban War of Independence, the Spanish-American intervention of 1898, and the 1950s Sierra Maestra guerrilla war led by Fidel Castro. Correspondents and writers like James J. O'Kelly, Richard Harding Davis, Stephen Crane, and Herbert Matthews each traveled to this remote corner of the world in order to report on wars, military leaders, and other significant local individuals. Others like Josephine Herbst and

Graham Greene used Oriente as a source for their prose fiction or as a backdrop, the latter famously in *Our Man in Havana*.

Though all eight chapters of this book are fascinating, the essays on the rural region known as the Realengo 18 (Chapter 6) and Cuba's highest mountain, the Pico Turquino (Chapter 7), are especially compelling. Both shed much light on the social conditions of the eastern Cuban peasantry and their struggles against dispossession, circumstances that made rural Oriente the perfect context for the armed struggle launched by Fidel Castro in 1956.

Chapter 2 offers an innovative discussion of how Oriente became an eye-opener for Cuban independence leader José Martí. Martí had spent two decades on a pilgrimage across the Americas, reading, writing, and struggling on behalf of the indigenous peoples of the hemisphere. But, as Hulme convincingly demonstrates, it was in his own Wild East of Oriente—a region that Martí was unfamiliar with—that he found himself at peace in a land of indigenous people. The text ends, quite appropriately, with an essay on the contemporary events that have once again made eastern Cuba the focus of much writing around the world: the imprisonment of suspected terrorists at the U.S. Guantánamo Naval Base in Oriente.

Throughout all eight essays Hulme's prose skillfully integrates close textual analysis with detailed historical and geographical contexts, making the book very accessible to readers (like this reviewer) who are allergic to pure disquisitions on texts. Reading *Cuba's Wild East* feels like taking an actual trip through the region. The book constitutes a truly exceptional, readable, informative, and significant contribution to the study of Cuban history, culture, and politics.

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*Hispanic Caribbean Literature of Migration: Narratives of Displacement.* Vanessa Pérez Rosario (ed.). Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. 247 pp. (Cloth US\$ 85.00)

Vanessa Pérez Rosario's *Hispanic Caribbean Literature of Migration* forms part of the "New Concepts in Latino American Cultures" series edited by Licia Fiol-Matta and José Quiroga. The collection complicates and elaborates on the canonization of particular writers through a nationalist lens by contextualizing their works within the larger scope of diaspora literatures, thus reconceptualizing the works' purpose and relevancy to a twenty-first-century readership.

One strong asset of this collection is the structured analysis of key issues in Diaspora Studies (cultural identity, travel/migration/exile, cross-cultural and transnational underpinnings). It also offers comprehensive analyses of works by authors from the three main geographic spaces under consideration: Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. Pérez Rosario scrutinizes their content and inclusion in the larger context of diaspora literature by gathering a group of critics who challenge national discourses and cross borders of thought and tradition. The study's emphasis is on the *experience* of migration and its repercussions on the act of literary representation. This requires, as Pérez Rosario points out, an understanding of the historical, social, political, and economic circumstances that led to the movement of peoples. Her study also acknowledges that the literary works of diaspora writers form part of national literary canons, confirming that exile is, indeed, a territory of the nation.

Part I, "Migratory Identities," consists of three articles on foundational figures whose migratory experiences lie at the center of their development as pioneering intellectuals. In "The Unbreakable Voice in a Minor Language," Laura Lomas presents José Martí as a "deterritorialized subject" (p. 23) whose fourteen-year sojourn in New York City led to the creation of a transgressive spoken word that engages in collective protest against isolation and the Anglo-dominant city. Lorgia García's "*Más que cenizas*" provides a historical overview of Juan Bosch as an emblematic voice of dissidence that articulated a transnational *Dominicanidad* outside geographic borders through alliances between Dominicans living on the island and those living abroad, alliances that helped create a narrative of social justice that he later linked to the democratic rhetoric of his political party,

founded in exile in 1942. Pérez Rosario's "Creating Latinidad" explores Julia de Burgos's legacy and Pan-American, Afro-Antillean ideas, placing her as a precursor to writers who spoke out against homogenizing insular discourses that silenced authors based on language, gender, class, and racial difference.

Part II, "Dislocated Narratives," adopts a less historical approach and contextualization. The focus of the three essays included in this part is the experience of transnational movement. In "Travel and Family in Julia Alvarez's Canon," Vivian Halloran comments on how the characters in Alvarez's works experience exile as individual family units who immigrate with economic privileges and rarely participate within identifiable urban realities of working-class Latinos. In "Making it Home," Ylce Irizarry analyzes the works of Junot Díaz as a "narrative of fracture" (p. 90) that problematize the Dominican exile community's sense of identity, social status, and decline. On the other hand, Carolyn Wolfenzon pays critical attention to the works of Cuban American writer Achy Obejas and her depiction of characters who experience double exile (first from Spain, then from Cuba), but also the experience of the return migrant and the continued questioning of his/her identity, culture, history, and even sexuality. In "*Days of Awe* and the Jewish Experience of a Cuban Exile," Wolfenzon argues that identity is a "perpetual bifurcation" (p. 107) since Jews, like Cubans after Castro's revolution, are the quintessential displaced people who live with the eternal hope of someday regaining their homeland, through either physical or utopian return.

Part III, "Gender Crossings," presents an exploration of subjectivity and sexuality through writing as a strategy for self-liberation. Mónica Lladó-Ortega examines three works by Manuel Ramos Otero that explore the effects of colonialism, migration, and an alternate community created through transit and difference in opposition to insular discourses of nationalism, fixed geographic boundaries, and sexist notions of identity. In a similar vein, Ana Belén Martín reveals how, despite the Cuban government's persecution of any openly gay person, several authors, both on the island and in the diaspora, dared to face official dogma through the act of writing. Martín points out that exile became the main territory where the self could be understood and constructed as queer and Cuban. Finally, Omise'eke Tinsley addresses the homophobic tendencies operating in the Caribbean while she comments on the discourse of "global northern sexual exceptionalism" (p. 154) in the works of Zoé Valdéz and Christopher John Farley.

Part IV, "Racial Migrations," is perhaps the most theoretical part of this anthology. Maritza Stanchich provides a critical analysis of the works of Jesús Colón in "Insular Interventions," demonstrating how Colón interrogates and exposes the historical, social, and political discourses that have enshrined notions of racial democracy. Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel broadens the discussion of racial constructs in the Caribbean to include larger immigrant communities that had (or still have) colonial/imperial relationships with other countries. In "Coloniality of Diasporas," she explores the process and effects of the racialization of colonial subjects. Juanita Heredia elaborates on the work of Junot Díaz in "The Dominican Diaspora Strikes Back," by utilizing the critical paradigm of the triangular "Black Atlantic" (p. 207) to emphasize the significance of African heritage in the Caribbean and the implications of its racial legacy upon diasporic communities.

The twelve essays contained in this collection accurately illustrate how Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Dominican authors recreate the experience of multiple migrations and movements between national borders, languages, identities, and discourses, developing new forms of self-expression and literary representation.

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*The Negritude Moment: Explorations in Francophone African and Caribbean Literature and Thought*. F. Abiola Irele. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2011. xv + 259 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

No scholar in the Anglophone world has proven as spirited and as intelligent a defender of the *négritude* project as the distinguished Nigerian scholar, F. Abiola Irele. This volume draws together eight of Irele's essays on *négritude*, as well as African literature, philosophy, and culture more widely, written across a forty-year period from the mid-1960s to the early years of the twenty-first century. Ordered for the most part chronologically, the essays allow us to trace the evolution of debates in the field and Irele's own position in relation to them. The earliest ones provide an undeniable interest for the historian of ideas, plunging readers into the intellectual context of the mid-to-late 1960s. However, the volume is not simply of interest as a window on the past, for many of the questions Irele raises are still relevant to our contemporary debates.

The first five essays constitute the theoretical heart of the volume; each one grapples with the main arguments of both proponents and opponents of *négritude*. The two earliest essays (which are two of the longest), "Negritude or Black Cultural Nationalism" and "Negritude: Literature and Ideology" (both originally published in 1965), act almost as advanced primers for Anglophone readers: if the former is essentially an account of where *négritude* came from (i.e. through colonial ethnographers, via the Harlem and Haitian renaissances, mixed with antirationalist European philosophy), the latter is a more engaged and engaging account of the content of this body of thought. Although Irele never seeks to hide his own position as a supporter of *négritude*'s basic project—which he understands primarily as a form of black cultural nationalism and a necessary process in the postcolonial development of the alienated black intellectual—he is scrupulously fair in tracing the flaws and inconsistencies in the arguments of its leading exponents, in particular those of Léopold Sédar Senghor. In essence, Senghor is cast as the product and occasionally the victim of his French intellectual training, constantly striving through countless essays to erect *négritude* into a coherent philosophy of culture, whereas Césaire and Damas (the other main architects of *négritude*) remained content to play on the allusive symbolic power of the concept in their poetry. This even-handed approach is best illustrated in "The Negritude Debate" (first

published in 1986), which provides a brilliant summary of both the weaknesses in Senghor's ideas and the blind spots in the arguments of his main detractors: "they proceed from what one might call a *positivist* standpoint, involving a materialist view of society . . . they have little or no sympathy for any theory of African development that does not appear to have a direct relation to an objective and practical scheme of historical action in the contemporary world" (p. 117). My own critical sympathies lie much closer to these materialist critics but I fully recognize the value of Irele's call for critics to examine Senghor's writings on their own terms as metaphysical and romantic explorations of the "black soul." I have far less sympathy, though, for Irele's contention that questions of identity have been at the heart of African thought of the past half-century (and should remain so); if *négritude's* critics play too little heed to the concept's spiritual, metaphysical dimension, then Irele is too quick to dismiss the materialism of these critics.

Chapters 6 and 7 involve a shift in focus and approach as Irele engages with the work of individual authors. The essay on Césaire's poetry maintains the engagement with complex, abstract ideas but also showcases Irele's skill as a sophisticated close reader of the poet's work, as he analyses the symbols and images through which Césaire mediates his powerful sense of engagement with the world. "In Search of Camara Laye" opens up yet another critical angle as Irele takes issue with Adele King's highly controversial 2002 book alleging that Laye could not have been the author of the first two works that bore his name (*L'Enfant noir* and *Le Regard du roi*). In this compelling essay, we see Irele don several critical guises—literary detective, close reader, literary-cultural theorist—as the controversy surrounding Laye forms the basis for a profound reflection on the "ambiguous status of the literary text in the African context" (p. 206), for African writers strive to use (what were originally) European languages to represent cultures that are generally lived and thought in other (African) languages. In the final essay (classified as an addendum), a review article of Paulin Hountondji's *The Struggle for Meaning* (2002), Irele returns to the more abstract reflection of the first five essays: Hountondji had been one of the harshest critics of *négritude* and ethnophilosophy in the 1970s but Irele detects in his later work a "desire to establish a cultural and intellectual authority that will confirm Africa's autonomy" (p. 224). The struggle for meaning remains a struggle for identity.

As I hope is clear from the points made above, there is a continuity to Irele's thinking, an obsessive return to certain key ideas, relating to a romantic quest for an authentic black identity. Perhaps because of this continuity, Irele chooses to write a very brief introduction to the collection, which I thought was a missed opportunity to draw out some key ideas on the evolution of his work. It is also to be regretted that such an important volume is so poorly produced. The text is sprinkled with typos, the referencing is, to be frank, very poor, and some texts are missing from the bibliography while others have been misdated. These are minor criticisms though and do not detract from the overall quality of the volume, which should be required reading for anyone interested in debates about African culture and philosophy of the past fifty years.

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*New Francophone African and Caribbean Theatres.* John Conteh-Morgan with Dominic Thomas. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. xviii + 208 pp. (Paper US\$ 24.95)

Following a *coup d'état* in the African country of Mutulufwa, Corporal Nnikon Nniku seizes power and proclaims himself Field Marshal. (In Mutulufwa, military titles are kept in a basket and handed out like sweets.) Following a lurid coronation ceremony—featuring shrieking and erotic dancers in bright plumage, “boudoum-boudoum”-sounding drums, fire-eating sorcerers, and nose-pierced warriors—the Maréchal unleashes his megalomaniacal new ideological program of “Nnikonnicism” whose central agenda is sociopolitical regression, notably the criminalization of all work and the general ruination of the state’s infrastructure. This is accompanied by the lubricious Marshal’s recourse to gratuitous violence and terror; his most profound desire is that “everyone, whether they eat, sleep, shit or screw, laugh or die . . . at my will.”

Such is the nightmarish dystopia of *coups* and tyranny depicted in the Congolese Tchicaya U Tam’si’s 1979 play *Le destin glorieux du Maréchal Nnikon Nniku, prince qu’on sort*. The fictional state of Mutulufwa means, after all, “those destined to die” in the Lingala language. In this play we encounter the chilling phenomenon of “necropolitics” where the ultimate expression of authority resides in the power to dictate human life or death.

The piece is a fascinating example of a Francophone postnationalist play’s drama of political critique which depicts a world where humans are desecrated as mere commodities. Gone the reverence for a charismatic, sage father of the nation; gone the idealistic or utopian striving for origins or archetypes as cherished by certain purveyors of nationalist theater in the period of decolonization.

Rather, the Marshal’s ancestralism is ridiculed, and instead of cultural authenticity, we have tacky stereotypical folklore as exemplified in the coronation. This is a surreal, grotesque world of excess and fantasy, strongly reminiscent of *Ubu Roi* (cf. *Ubu and the Truth Commission* in Anglophone African theater). The monstrous is coupled with the bitter sardonic laugh of carnivalesque derision and parody. Carnavalesque, too, the punning, scatology, and obscenity throughout the play. Despite the “ni” disclaimers in

his names, Nnikon Nniku, the Marshal's identity is aptly signified by *con* (idiot, prick, and also the female genitalia) and *cul* (arse).

*Le destin glorieux* is one of nine plays analyzed in insightful detail in *New Francophone African and Caribbean Theatres* by the late John Conteh-Morgan who was the pre-eminent scholar in his field in the United States. The manuscript of this posthumously published book has been ably completed by Dominic Thomas. A richly informative introductory chapter provides cogent and assured contextualizing, rehearsing the legacy of earlier playwrights and avant-garde practitioners from which the plays and politico-cultural debates of the succeeding generations, studied here, develop.

The vast majority of these plays—which vary in tone, register, genre, and style—chart a growing disenchantment with post-colonial society. The Guadeloupean novelist and playwright Simone Schwarz-Bart focuses on the exacerbating socio-economic disparities of the global economy in her ground-breaking 1987 play *Ton beau capitaine*, a poignant and lyrical treatment of migration and exile. Here, the Haitian migrant worker Wilnor has spent years toiling in the cane fields of Guadeloupe. He and his wife Marie-Ange communicate through “cassette-letters.” Yet Wilnor’s dreams of a contented retirement, in which he is the captain of his life, his wife, his home, are dashed when he learns from his wife’s own recorded voice that she is to bear the child of another man.

Wilonor is a representative wanderer, one of the wretched of the earth. His very country which had once so often inspired plays of heroic nationalism stands here and elsewhere as a metaphor for distress and disillusionment. Whereas for some, not least postcolonial émigré intellectuals, exile and emigration connote a creative and liberating nomadism, Wilnor is rather enslaved in his migration, a condition further underlined by maritime metaphors that dimly evoke the slave trade. “Separation is a big ocean which muddles everything.”

Yet in a form of mysterious epiphany made possible by Marie-Ange, whose infidelity he forgives, Wilnor conquers his self-doubt and achieves a form of calm and capacious understanding of their common fate. “You over there and me here . . . it’s all the same,” she says. In this superb, minimalist, and claustrophobic play, which draws upon Haitian spirituality and uses dance and ritual to go beyond language and create extra resonances, Wilnor comes to understand that his wife is as much a victim as he; he realizes her own pain and agency.

Another play that engages with cultural trauma, this time in modern Africa, is the Cameroonian playwright Werewere Liking's *Les mains veulent dire* [literally "the hands mean"]. As one of her emblematic ritual dramas, this play seeks to rescue ritual from ossified folkloric display and to enact onstage a healing indigenous rite which will re-suture Africa's amputated memory, leading to cultural autonomy and spiritual and imaginative emancipation. The play is remarkable for its scenographic richness to be apprehended by all the senses.

Other plays discussed here instrumentalize epic narrative, folktale and oral story-telling, and festive culture. Tchicaya U Tam'si's 1987 play *Le bal de Ndinga*, "one of the most successful French-language plays from Africa ever written," has at its heart a tragic lament for a decolonization gone sour.

A final chapter examines the most recent Francophone theater in the age of globalization where the colonial encounter and its aftermath have been expanded to encompass a gamut of contemporary material (itself deserving of detailed study). Conteh-Morgan devotes lucid discussion to such issues as cultural hybridity, and self-reflexivity in this "theatre of crossings." Nevertheless, I was most impressed by the way he takes issue with some of the new dramatists' "universalist" assumptions and their pooh-poohing of the "folklore theatre" of their predecessors. With devastating precision, such "universalism" is identified as all too often a rootless and complicit mimicry of a western neo-imperial, globalizing discourse.

In this fascinating and exciting study, the late John Conteh-Morgan succeeded admirably in bringing to Anglophone attention a precious body of Francophone African and Caribbean theater—a rich seam for further enquiry, comparative not least. And I for one am keenly anticipating seeing several of these plays translated from the page to the English-speaking stage.

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*Maryse Condé: Rébellion et transgressions*. Noëlle Carruggi (ed.). Paris: Karthala. 2010. 232 pp. (Paper €25.00)

It has by now become commonplace to introduce Maryse Condé as an iconoclast and to study her work's many transgressions of the cultural taboos against which some of her characters rebel. In her preface, Noëlle Carruggi, editor of *Maryse Condé: Rébellion et transgressions*, makes clear that she is aware of this trend. However, she manages to offer a well thought-out collection of essays that never takes Condé's rebellion for granted, adding to work on her transgressions without sounding déjà-vu.

The collection is composed of a short introduction, eleven essays, and an interview with Condé. The first two essays offer a good introduction to the themes of rebellion and transgression in Condé's work, with Lydie Moudileno contextualizing these themes in relation to the other Condean themes of exile, identity, history, and writing, and Christiane Makward giving a critical overview of the use of irony, parody, and humor in Condé's oeuvre.

Next come eight essays, each of which analyzes in detail one transgressive aspect in Condé's work. Louise Hardwick explores how Condé subverts both childhood narratives in general and Caribbean narratives in particular. With an essay that is much longer than others in the book, Hardwick manages to be particularly thorough on her topic.

Emmanuelle Vanborre's thoughtful analysis of the Condé-vs-Creolists debate via a study of the role of the writer in the work of Condé, Patrick Chamoiseau, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Maurice Blanchot is both intellectually and historically enlightening, as it casts the Creolists-vs-Condé debate into the larger debate about literature and politics.

Lucienne Serrano studies how *Traversée* subverts the traditional Freudian narrative about the traumatic expulsion from the womb. Although the psychological dimension of the novel could stand to be contextualized further within Condé's work and that of other Caribbean writers, the article reveals an interesting under-studied dimension of the novel.

The next three essays touch on different aspects of female rebellion. Leah Tolbert-Lyons focuses on women's relations to men and motherhood in *Traversée*; Mireille Sacotte analyzes Léocadie Timothée's subtle but revolutionary attitude toward education; Fabienne Viala studies female cannibalism in *La Vie scélérate*, *Célanire cou-coupé*, and *La Femme cannibale*. Whereas Tolbert-Lyons and Sacotte show the need for subtlety when

approaching Condé's female transgressions (some being counter-intuitive [Tolbert-Lyons] and others so subtle as to be overlooked [Sacotte]), Viala astutely tackles the complexity of the more flamboyant cannibal woman. Although the three essays would have benefited from more engagement with previous work done on women and cannibalism in Condé's work, they do highlight convincingly a common feature of female rebellion as challenging colonial or patriarchal paradigms, or both.

Dawn Fulton's essay on *Célanire* as a rewriting of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* reveals how the genre of the fantastic is particularly suited to represent the transgressive nature of Célanire's racial hybridity. Although parts of this article were previously published, its translation into French is a welcome addition.

Stéphanie Bérard offers the only essay on Condé's play *Comme deux frères* and its treatment of the topic of homosexuality. Bérard convincingly interprets the ellipses in the play as revealing both homosexual desire between the two protagonists and the difficulty in breaking such a taboo in Caribbean society. As Bérard's analysis moves from the text to the director and the actors' denial of the role of homosexuality in the play, she reveals the limited impact of Condé's textual transgressions when confronting such entrenched taboos.

Cilas Kemedjo's essay on the disintegration of the African Diaspora's esthetics and ideology in Condé's work touches on a key transgression of her oeuvre: the steady demystification of Africa in favor of a more realistic, nuanced, banal even portrayal of the continent. Kemedjo's reflection offers a fascinating perspective on Condé's oeuvre as it relates to major political ideologies (*négritude*, Panafricanism, black nationalism).

Carruggi concludes the collection with her 2009 interview with Maryse Condé. As Condé touches on a variety of topics (Caribbean machismo, homosexuality, narration) and novels (from her earliest to her latest, then *Les Belles Ténébreuses*), one recurrent idea clearly emerges and appropriately concludes a collection on her iconoclasm: that collective identity does not exist, only individuals do.

Overall, this is a strong collection. The first two contributions by Moudileno and Makward, and the last two by Kemedjo and Carruggi work together as a solid introduction and conclusion on rebellion and transgression in Condé's work. The remaining eight essays, thus framed, offer more specific and in-depth analyses of Condé's many and varied transgressions. The one

aspect that could have been improved involves the references to critical works on similar topics. While the (official) introduction might have done a better job of developing Carruggi's awareness of other works published on the topic of Condé's transgression as a whole (an awareness touched on in the preface), several essays could similarly have engaged more with critical work done on their respective themes, whether Condé's treatment of cannibalism, women, or sexuality, etc. Such a dialogue would not only have enhanced the critical value of the collection, but it would also have helped situate it more clearly in relation to other works done on the topic, making research on Condé more aware of the evolution (if any) of transgression in her work. Nevertheless, this collection remains valuable for Francophone Postcolonial Studies. Students and researchers will particularly appreciate the collection's repeated suggestion that not all of Condé's transgressions may succeed. Condé herself will appreciate the irony that she may not be a perfect rebel.

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*Edwidge Danticat: A Reader's Guide*. Martin Munro (ed.). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010. viii + 222 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

Intelligent writers demand and deserve intelligent readers. *Edwidge Danticat: A Reader's Guide* offers a series of astute perspectives on the work of one of the most compelling contemporary writers and is bound to become a useful companion for those who are already familiar with her oeuvre as well as for those who are approaching it for the first time.

The collection is divided into four sections—"Contexts," "Texts and Analyses," "Danticat and her Peers," and "Interview & Bibliography"—which are preceded by a foreword by Dany Laferrière and an introduction by Martin Munro.

Laferrière introduces us to Danticat-the-person and to Danticat-the-writer at the same time. While the charisma, serenity, and composure of the "Princess of Brooklyn"—as Laferrière affectionately calls her—are very powerfully evoked, we are also reminded of her unfaltering commitment to Haiti and of the fact that what characterizes Danticat's work "are human preoccupations fed by a myriad of everyday truths and presented in a style so natural that it may appear simple" (p. viii).

Munro's introduction paves the way to the rest of the collection by highlighting some of the issues debated by other contributors: where and how do we situate Danticat's work? What kind of dialogue does she establish with her Haitian literary precursors? How does her work relate to women's writing from Haiti, from the rest of the Caribbean, or in the African American tradition? How does she negotiate between the needs of a disenfranchised community and those of her individual self?

In the first section, J. Michael Dash, Carine Mardorossian, and Régine Michelle Jean-Charles discuss Danticat's *opus* in relation to the Haitian, Caribbean, and African American literary contexts respectively. Rather than situating Danticat firmly in one or the other tradition, all three critics agree that her work calls into question pre-existing categories of writers, and that it proposes a broadening and diversification of these traditions and of conceptualizations of identity as well as a more fluid relationship with those precursors that Danticat invites us to read anew.

It is a shame that the "Contexts" section does not include an island-based context dealing with the literary landscape and the diasporas of Haiti and the Dominican Republic; after all, Julia Alvarez or Junot Díaz, as Munro

himself notes, deal with “similar issues of state violence and relationships between the island state and the United States” (p. 6). Such contextualization would have given more poignancy to Myriam J.A. Chancy’s insistence on “transnational healing” (p. 144) in her insightful essay on *The Farming of Bones* (1998), where Danticat takes her readers back to the 1937 massacre of Haitians and Dominican-Haitians in the Dominican Republic.

Chancy’s essay is part of the “Texts and Analyses” section, which offers Mireille Rosello’s sensitive close reading of Danticat’s disturbing novel *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (1994)—focused on the representation of rape—and Mary Gallagher’s stimulating intervention on *The Dew Breaker* (2004), where a daughter discovers that, instead of being a victim of the Duvaliers, her beloved father was in fact a torturer. “Texts and Analyses” also includes Nick Nesbitt’s compelling essay on Danticat’s short stories in which he insists on her ability “to crystallize in pregnant image latent experiences of frustrated justice that draw us as individuals beyond the parochialism of our immediate, subjective demands” (p. 84). Kiera Vaclavik’s successful attempt to bring to the fore Danticat’s unfairly neglected young adult fiction is followed by Charles Forsdick’s brilliant investigation of her travel writing. Among other things, Forsdick puts *After the Dance* (2002) in dialogue with the rest of Danticat’s oeuvre by pointing out how it “continues a series of collective projects, in which its author has been involved, of recovering personal testimonies, many of which relate to travel and migration” (p. 112).

In the third section of this volume four contemporary writers—Maryse Condé, Évelyne Trouillot, Madison Smartt Bell, and Lyonel Trouillot—share with readers their views on and appreciation of Danticat’s oeuvre, highlighting its linguistic and thematic novelty, praising her style for being radical in its simplicity, commending her concern for historical truth and social justice, and celebrating her ability to give voice, simultaneously, to the new Caribbean exile and to her individual self. The collection ends with Renee H. Shea’s interview with Danticat which focuses on *Brother, I’m Dying* (2007), thereby giving the last word to Danticat herself.

The volume also contains Munro’s brief biography of Danticat and Nadève Ménard’s selected bibliography which includes fictional and non-fictional works authored by Danticat, projects she has been involved in (for example, Jonathan Demme’s film *The Agronomist* [2003] on the life and death of the Haitian journalist Jean Dominique for which she was



associate producer), critical texts (including theses and dissertations), and interviews. The inclusion in the bibliography of a long list of contemporary Haitian works might seem to unfairly privilege the Haitian context over the Caribbean or African American ones but, since Anglophone readers might not be very familiar with Haitian writing, this is an important and informative addition to the collection.

At the end of his introduction, Munro explains that “this volume is meant to invite readers to read Danticat in her various contexts and to explore those contexts further, in particular the neglected but substantial Haitian tradition” (p. 9). But *Edwidge Danticat: A Reader's Guide* does a lot more than simply offering stimulating readings of Danticat's work and introducing readers to possible contexts in which to situate it—it provides readers with the necessary tools to approach Danticat's oeuvre in an informed and inspired manner. In other words, thanks to this volume, more intelligent readers of Danticat are on their way. This can only be a good thing.

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*Écrits d'Haiti: Perspectives sur la littérature haïtienne contemporaine* (1986-2006), Nadève Ménard (ed.). Paris: Karthala, 2011. 486 pp. (Paper € 29.00)

An important interest of this volume is that it was conceived and coordinated in Haiti, by a Haitian scholar, Nadève Ménard, professor at the École Normale of Port-au-Prince. On the other hand, except for the interviewers (most of whom live in Haiti), almost all the contributors are young scholars from abroad. Therefore, this book reflects a double reversal, bucking the trend for international academic collective works on Haitian literature to be designed from the outside, and too often by foreigners, leaving in the margins local literary productions, but also less popular genres in the universities of the Northern Hemisphere such as poetry, short story or drama, and of course texts in Haitian, a language that these researchers usually do not master at all.

Pierre Bellefleur Maxwell's informative chapter on Haitian short stories shows the singularity of texts by Sito Cavé, Yannick Lahens, Evelyne Trouillot, and Gary Victor, while highlighting common features in their writing that tend to define a national post-Duvalier narrative. Jean Durosier Desrivères provides a detailed analysis of Georges Castera's poetry, both in French and in Haitian, and Yannick Hoffert contributes an essay on two dramas of the Paris-based comedian, director, and playwright Jean-René Lemoine: *Ecchymose* (2005) and *Face à la mer* (2006).

Three other chapters also deserve special attention. "Autogéographie du Faubourg," by geographer Jean-Marie Théodat, offers a sophisticated analysis of Louis Philippe Dalember's *Rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis*. Cecile Accilien's comments on *Vers le Sud* (2005), the film adaptation by Laurent Cantet of a Dany Laferrière short story on sex tourism, is one of the book's most amazing chapters, well worth reading. Finally, the interview with Georges Castera on his poetry offers some invaluable insights into the complex relations between French and Haitian languages. His are the courageous words of a poet who has always paid attention to his literary practice, as for example, in the afterword to his great book in Haitian, *Konbèlann* (1976).

Structurally, the book is divided into six parts: "Écrire l'histoire," "Écrire la blessure psychique," "Écrire le corps, les éléments," "Le comment de l'écrire," "Écrire pour conquérir l'espace," and "Écrire le terroir." Although in her preface Médard, consciously or not wanting to deny any affiliation with criticism of the past, states that "this book also differs from works such

as *Écrire en pays assiégé* [writing under siege]—*Haïti*" (p. 9), one can see a strong resemblance between these two volumes, in their title, in their organization into parts about the writing process, and in the alternation of writers' interviews and scholarly comments. This co-presence of two decisive voices (author and reader) is not new in Francophone studies, going back at least to Lilyan Kesteloot's foundational dissertation, *Black Writers in French: A Literary History of Negritude* (1963/1974). To some extent, one might think that this dual perspective owes much to Jean-Paul Sartre's *What is Literature?* (1947/1988), whose influence on the Francophone world was very strong until the end of the twentieth century; see, for example, Frank Laraque's seminal book, *La Révolte dans le théâtre de Sartre vu par un homme du Tiers Monde* (1976).

One noteworthy aspect of this book is the absence of confirmed Haitian critics or scholars such as Myriam Chancy, Max Dorsinville, Pierre-Raymond Dumas, Maximilien Laroche, or Marie-Denise Shelton, whose books (respectively, *Framing Silence: Revolutionary Novels by Haitian Women* [1997], *Caliban Without Prospero: Essay on Quebec and Black literature* [1974], *Panorama de la littérature haïtienne de la diaspora* [2000], *Le Miracle et la Métamorphose* [1970], and *Haïti et les autres: La Révolution imaginée* [2011]) are among the most significant critical works by Haitians. On the other hand, the large number of young Haitian or Haitian-descended scholars working in France or the United States such as Cécile Accilien, Jean Durosier Desrivères, Régine Michelle Jean-Charles, and Kursuze Siméon-Jones allow us to rediscover new voices of their generation: Edwidge Danticat, Kettly Mars, Fabienne Pasquet (some of whom have an ambiguous status in the literatures of Haiti, either because of the language they choose to write in or because of their nationality). Unfortunately these new issues for Haitian literatures, which are more than ever postnational in terms of both their production and their readings, are never questioned. This is a serious lack. Indeed, it is not obvious that Danticat (who writes in English) or Pasquet (who was born in Europe) are truly Haitian writers. They are undoubtedly writers of Haitian origin, but it is not incontestable that their writings belong in the Haitian canon. This debate on the notions of national text or criteria of belonging to a national literature seems to be repressed by critics, who too often follow the latest fashion instead of providing thoughtful reflections on the *literary*, and Haitian literariness in particular. This debate is more important than ever, for the discourse on Haitian writings

is primarily driven by foreign publishers and critics, mostly Americans and Europeans, as is the case for the majority of contributors of this volume. Ménard notes this disturbing fact in her introduction, but she misses the opportunity to analyze it further, and thus to make a landmark contribution to Haitian criticism today.

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*Nan dòmi, le récit d'une initiation vodou.* Mimerose P. Beaubrun. La Roque d'Anthéron: Vents d'Ailleurs, 2010. 287 pp. (Paper €21.00)

The study of Haitian Vodou historically covers three major stages: *bosal*, *kanzo*, and *pridèzye*, corresponding to three progressive levels in understanding the mysteries of Vodou. At the *bosal* level, a person entering the system wrestles with the myths and superstitions about Vodou to find one's way. One who has undergone the *kanzo* initiation, opened to deeper knowledge, begins to function adequately in the *lakou* or the Vodou community, learns to separate facts from fiction, and is prepared to embark on the lifelong learning process of observation and communion with nature. Those who have been called to minister to the people progress to the *pridèzye* level. Such persons then develop the ability to see into the unknown and to divine. Clark (1982) and Fleurant (1996) have further observed that not only have the study, writing, and research about Vodou gone through those three stages, but 90 percent of the voluminous literature on Vodou falls within the *bosal* category, which explains a great deal of the prejudice about Haiti and its traditional culture.

Vodou originated in West Africa, amalgamating the rituals and practices of 21 ethnic groups or "*nanchon*" (some say 101 nations). As an initiatory rite, it usually subjects an adept to a period of seclusion varying from three to seven days, followed by a longer period of reclusion lasting 48 days. The initiate goes through a *lave tèt* or washing of the head (a cleansing process) and a *kanzo* or fire ritual to learn to manage gallantly the difficulties of life. Under the guidance of a tutor and with the blessings of the *lakou* community, the person emerges as an *ounsi kanzo*. While the details of initiation have remained largely secret, initiates like Milo Rigaud, Maya Deren, and Katherine Dunham, and academic groups like KOSANBA (the scholarly association for the study of Haitian culture and Vodou) have revealed a fair amount of the surface information. Thus, the fascination with secrecy in Vodou has been considered a settled matter. Then came Mimerose P. Beaubrun's, *Nan dòmi, le récit d'une initiation vodou* (Dreaming: the account of a Vodou initiation), an earth shattering work that recenters the study of Haitian Vodou and heralds a new era in our understanding of Haitian culture, for here details and essence of initiation are the subject matter.

First, using a reflexive anthropological approach, Beaubrun establishes that initiation into Vodou is a lifelong learning process, and that no one

enters that route through a mere ceremony aimed at conferring upon a person the power to do wonders. Her journey, along with her husband Lolo (co-founder of the famous *rasin* or roots music band Boukman Eksperyans), began with visits to many well-known *lakou*, such as Souvenance in Gonaïves, and Lamatrie near the town of Ouanaminthe in the northeast. A *lakou*, with its three major functions of conservation, protection, and renewal, she tells us, is a living space, a multidimensional living area where an extended family shares all aspects of life—spiritual, economic, and cultural. Under the tutelage of her spiritual guide, Tante Tansia, a *danti* (elder) who summarizes the essence of the *lakou*, her narrative takes us into the deepest reaches of the teaching of Vodou, and eases us out of the superstitions that have been associated with it for so long. Yet no one can teach another person the road to *Ginen*, the spirits of Vodou, she learns from Tante Tansia. A person receives the call to service and takes one's place in the *lakou*. Dreams became an essential part of Beaubrun's journey, for the *Ginen* are manifest in her dreams. An academic who takes nothing for granted and questions everything, Beaubrun's experience of dreaming overreached her logical and mental capacity. Dreaming has become for her an art that often propels her to another dimension, where the *Ginen* resides. One needs to learn to distinguish between dreaming and the imaginary, for in this context, the dream as a state of the unknown world is real. The learning process, in this regard, is like a marathon where one competes against oneself, and though one is alone in the struggle, one is still connected to the chain of "101 *nanchons*" (ethnic groups), the seven pillars of the *lakou*, and the three supporting stones of the hearth, the cooking pot. The *Ginen* is The Spirit. It cannot be captured and put at one's service. Vodou, like all religions, has its magic, but "*Ginen pa Bizango*"—*Ginen* is not *Bizango*, the secret societies whose roguish members often deviate from Vodou moral values. Those who use Vodou for material and selfish ends have neither formation nor information.

The information in *Nan dòmi* is not new to the initiate who has chosen to walk on the road of *Ginen*. But it brings us—academics and the larger public—further along in demystifying Vodou and Haitian culture, and confirms the word often heard that "there are no secrets in Vodou, except for the secrets of the *ason*" (symbol of priesthood). And for Beaubrun, the secrets of the *ason*, indeed a mother lode, are there for all to learn, to practice, and to dream. In this regard, she brings us to a new level by changing

the landscape of research on Vodou, and unwittingly challenging many in the academic community to transcend their limitations, as *bosal*, and to approach with respect the study of the Haitian *lakou*. *Nan dòmi, a pridèzye* primer for the initiate, academics, and the general public, will take its place among the great classics of Haitian Vodou and culture. *Ayibobo!*

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*Race and Sex in Latin America*. Peter Wade. London: Pluto Press, 2009. x + 310 pp. (US\$ 29.95)

*Race and Sex in Latin America* is a major achievement. Peter Wade offers lucid analysis, fully engaging with a sophisticated bibliography that allows us to see the complex relationship between race and sex in Latin America. The book is clearly written and makes complex theories quite accessible. It successfully integrates queer and feminist analysis, making them central to his project, as it combines the contributions of psychoanalysis to those of social sciences. This book will be required reading for anyone working on these topics in Latin America and the Caribbean, and will work quite well in a variety of university classes. It is also very relevant for scholars working on colonial, postcolonial or race, sex and gender studies in other areas of the world.

In his “Acknowledgements,” Wade explains the link between this book and some of his earlier works such as *Blackness and Race Mixture* (1993) and *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (1997), clarifying that the closest link is to the findings of a collaborative project that culminated in the edited volume *Raza, etnicidad y sexualidades: Ciudadanía y multiculturalismo en América latina* (2008). Throughout the text, Wade also references some of his other publications such as *Music, Race and Nation* (2000), *Race, Nature and Culture* (2002), and the edited volume *Race, Ethnicity and Nation* (2007). It is clear that he has spent a good part of his professional career grappling with these questions; *Race and Sex in Latin America* brings together and expands on many of his past insights.

In Chapter 1, Wade offers useful definitions of the key terms race, sex, and sexuality, highlighting his interest in seeing how these intersect or mutually constitute each other, and explaining the historical and social debates about the meanings of these terms. Regarding definitions of race, he states that he prefers “an historically inclusive approach that recognizes the historical continuities that underlie the variations” (p. 5). In relation to sex, he includes “anything pertaining to the fact of being sexed or having a sex and anything pertaining to the relationships between the sexes” (p. 7). He then summarizes the key problem which drives his book as: “in simple terms, why ‘the question race always provoked the answer sex,’ to use [Roger] Bastide’s phrase, or more generally, why race and sex/gender seem



to have what I have termed an 'elective affinity' for each other in systems of domination and hierarchy" (p. 12). Wade discusses this question in both theoretical and empirical terms in the rest of the book; the theoretical discussion occurs principally in Chapter 2, where he offers two theoretical models that center on power and desire. As he notes, scholars tend to favor one or other of these approaches, rarely bringing the two together. Here, Wade's discussion of the work of Michel Foucault, Frantz Fanon, Anne McClintock, Patricia Hill Collins, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Judith Butler, Ann Stoler, Elizabeth Povinelli, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha is particularly insightful.

The remaining four chapters examine these models and definitions, offering nuanced historical perspectives about the intersections of race and sex in Latin America. Chapter 3 focuses on colonial Latin America, analyzing sex as an instrument of racialized conquest, the building of a moral order, concepts of purity of blood and the sexual purity of women, *mestizaje*, and the ambivalence about the sexual and magical power of racially and sexually subaltern subjects. Chapter 4 focuses on the post-independence, nation-building period in the nineteenth century, with discussions of science and nation, *mestizaje*, honor, eugenics, social hygiene, masculinity, homosexuality, and sexualized primitivism. Chapter 5 focuses on the political economy of sex/race, including discussions of race, money, and sex; interracial sex and *mestizaje*; beauty and eroticism; and sex tourism and sex worker migration. As Wade notes, "relations in Latin America depend on a balance of racism and racial democracy . . . this balance depends to a great extent on the way race and sex articulate to create a mixed society in which both oppression and racial ambiguity and tolerance coexist" (p. 13). Chapter 6 focuses on the management of sexuality by the state and NGOs, including the regulation of sexuality, fertility, disease, and family life, and its impact on questions of citizenship. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Latinos in the United States and the way their *mestizaje* "is both challenged by and challenges the US racial landscape" (p. 14).

Wade's careful attention to matters of ambiguity and contradiction regarding race and sex in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States, particularly in the manifestation of oppression, prejudice, attraction, fascination, and public discourse, is extremely timely.

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*Radical Theory, Caribbean Reality: Race, Class and Social Domination.* Charles W. Mills. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2010. ix + 284 pp. (Paper US\$ 30.00)

In this collection of essays, Charles Mills gives us insight into his intellectual socialization growing up in Jamaica, studying in Canada, and teaching in the United States. These experiences influenced his understanding of issues relating to class, race, and social domination, and the way these concepts are sanitized in the United States, to overlook the “centrality of racial domination.” Mills suggests that there are at least three uses of the term ideology in Marxism: “unequivocal and epistemic pejorative,” “univocal and epistemic neutral,” and “equivocal” (which is used in two ways, “as a pejorative and a neutral non pejorative sense”). He suggests that ideology used in the pejorative sense does not have the “theoretical scope” that is usually ascribed to it since it does not refer to class ideas in general but to “class ideas of an-idealist-sort” (p. 46). He then turns his attention to what factors determine ideology. Consciousness is influenced by four main variables: class domination, societal appearance, class interests, and class position. This is an important theoretical contribution since it constructs a causal sequence for consciousness recognizing the “distorting role of illusive appearance and mystifying ideologies,” yet allowing for the “possibility of a vertical insight into the characteristic of the social structure which is itself no less socially constructed” (p. 69).

With respect to race, Mills critiques M.G. Smith’s plural society thesis of the Caribbean and suggests ways to construct a Marxist theory of race and culture beginning with the historical legacy of slavery. His overall suggestion is to “elucidate within a class framework, why race, colour and culture have the significance that they do, even if these variables are themselves displaced from the theoretical core” (p. 94).

Mills also investigates the link between race and class in the works of Stuart Hall. He argues that Hall is firmly committed to the struggle against racial oppression, its legacies, and its connection to broader socio-historical factors. He notes that Hall’s approach is theoretically eclectic and that Hall’s evolution seems to prioritize culture over all else. If applied to the United States, for example, with the “emphasis on ‘narratives’ and inter-subjectivity,” it may have the tendency to “overstate the extent to which different patterns of racialization are possible” (p. 210).

Two chapters are dedicated to understanding the communist threat in Jamaica and Grenada. Mills notes that the history of Marxist political activism and the trade union movement in Jamaica has been deliberately ignored, with communists being portrayed as “ruthless killers, agents of foreign powers if not foreigners themselves, and exploiters of racial tensions in Jamaica” (p. 123). The chapter on Grenada is a critique of a dogmatic interpretation by some elites of Marxist theory. He notes three problems with using dogmatic Marxism, particularly in the Third World: (a) when revolutionary elites proclaim to have the “scientific truth” and therefore force conformity rather than having heterogeneity of thought; (b) “where the rightness or wrongness of actions is judged by their aptness to bring about specific consequences . . . the socialist revolution” (p. 141), and (c) class reductionism and race as they apply in the Caribbean context. Using these theoretical constructs he attempts to explain how the Grenada Revolution devoured itself. He summarizes it under the term “the phenomenology of vanguardism,” referring to the situation that occurs when activists try to put theory into practice. As such there is a tendency to “dismiss troubling phenomena” that do not fit into the theory. And since we form “epistemic communities,” we are reassured of the correctness of our beliefs; therefore “subjective feelings, beliefs, and cultural traditions of people can be ignored in a mechanical technical adjustment of a social problem” (p. 161).

The book’s most inspirational chapter, “Smadditizin” is a tribute to the Jamaican scholar Rex Nettleford, who describes “smadditizin” as the “struggle to have one’s personhood recognized in a world where, primarily because of race, it is denied” (pp. 165–66). Mills explores the foundation of this struggle in Western philosophy, which presents itself as “colourless, universalistic, and all inclusive,” with modernity being characterized as liberal global egalitarianism. This modernity, he argues, was created with Europe at the center and modern, and the periphery as traditional. Race becomes central for non-Europeans in this process since it denies their personhood and in the canon of western intellectual texts there is a “racialized logic of inclusion and exclusion . . . that is not usually noticed because of the inherited conceptual blinders that direct us to see them as general and universal” (p. 171). One cannot simply adopt European models and apply them to the Third World. Theory for “sub persons” must be different; “samadditizin” is a kind of “ontological self-engineering, a bootstrap-into being” (p. 175). It challenges the “official ontology, the official

memory, the prescribed epistemology, and the normative body, in which one's physical features are devalued, one's history denied, one's culture ostracized" (p. 176). As such, remedies to resolve social disadvantage must be collective. Since it is a response to "social dissing" it requires a "socially reorganized group personhood that cannot be achieved in a world where the structures of prestige remain colour coded" (p. 176). In the final analysis "samadditizin" involves resistance since it would involve groups whose interests rest on others' sub-personhood.

This book makes a contribution to understanding the role of ideology in social reconstruction and the relationship between ideology, social structure, and social action. It clarifies the importance of looking at multicausal models to integrate race and class analysis with the aim of transforming Caribbean society. What is missing from the analysis, however, are issues related to gender and sexuality. Though race, class, ideology, and history are important to understanding social domination in the Caribbean, gender and sexuality are also critical to understanding the phenomenon. Overall the book is an important contribution to Caribbean scholarship and others who approach the issue of social domination with the aim of changing it.

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*Revolutionizing Romance: Interracial Couples in Contemporary Cuba*. Nadine T. Fernandez. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010. x + 210 pp. (Paper US\$ 23.95)

*Revolutionizing Romance* demonstrates the coexistence of key contradictory ideas about race in contemporary Cuban society by exploring the predicaments of young interracial couples. Nadine Fernandez argues that while race mixing is central to national discourse, racial discrimination and the ideology of whitening are pervasive, making race a key idiom through which people understand their place in society, including their romantic place. She uses interviews as well as some ethnography and secondary literature to analyze the difficulties interracial couples face as they try to negotiate their courtship, romantic attachments, marriage, family life, and sexuality.

Chapters 1 and 2 provide historical background on race and interracial unions in Cuba, from the colonial period to the revolutionary decades of 1960s. During the colonial period, unions between white women and black men were particularly threatening as women were charged with keeping the family's honor and status in good standing. On the other hand, consensual or extramarital unions (including rape) between white men and nonwhite women did not threaten (but rather reinforced) the class/race hierarchy of the colonial order. After independence and particularly during the 1920s and 1930s, race mixture and the blending of Spanish and African cultures became emblematic of *Cubanidad*. However, racism persisted, and even though interracial marriage was no longer prohibited, marriages continued to be overwhelmingly endogamous; only 14 percent of families were interracial. With the advent of the socialist revolution, it was argued that racism would disappear once capitalism was dismantled. Internationally, black nationalism was supported, but locally, the socialist government approached racism with silence.

Fernandez argues that the equalitarian ideology of the Cuban Revolution opened common spaces and opportunities not previously accessible that nurtured interracial encounters. She uses interviews to document the enthusiastic atmosphere of social transformation that facilitated interracial unions for this particular generation. She also points out that during the revolutionary period, interracial unions were more common among working class couples, people under 30 years of age, and in the eastern

provinces. However, because racism still persisted, unions between mestizos/ mulattos and whites or blacks were much more common overall than unions between whites and blacks in revolutionary Cuba.

These chapters (1-2) provide useful information on Cuban racial history. However, Fernandez relies excessively on what others have written about the subject, with Alejandro de la Fuente being quoted with special frequency. Her discussion of the different opportunities afforded to particular generational cohorts is an interesting angle she could have explored further, but her voice gets somewhat lost in the summary of historical periods. Her own perspective is more clearly evident in Chapters 3-6 (approximately half the book) where she discusses contemporary post-Soviet Cuba. Here she uses interviews and ethnography to document the racialization of space in Havana, the emergent dollar economy, tourism, and the everyday conflicts of interracial couples at home.

A key contradiction she analyzes is the fact that while the state supported a mixed-race ideology privileging whiteness, the tourism industry has thrived on an image of the authentic Cuba as black that folklorizes Afro-Cuban practices and essentializes black communities (i.e. *solares*) and their residents. The question of how this territorialization of blackness affects interracial couples is not explored specifically, but later discussions regarding the meanings that the tourism industry assigns to the *mulata* as a sex symbol are pertinent to this issue. Fernandez points out that in the emergent dollar economy, interracial unions are frequently understood in utilitarian terms (*por interés*). A white partner is often viewed as a "prize" (particularly when the woman is black) or as someone who is only seeking sexual favors, and a black partner is represented as being used, seeking benefit or being taken advantage of, thereby undermining the interracial couple's claims to romantic love.

Also insightful is Fernandez's argument that while the Revolution created egalitarian spaces for interracial couples to flourish, the economic hardships of the special period made more people dependent on local networks (at the community level) and especially dependent on family resources. This dependence, in turn, made interracial couples more vulnerable to the entrenched racism of family dynamics, which she documents very well in her interviews with interracial couples.

One shortcoming of the book is that although she explores the complexity of terms such as "race," "Afrocuban" and "post-Soviet," she does not

examine the term “interracial” as a discursive category. How and to what extent is this category present at the level of public discourse? Do people use it to describe their relationships or the relationships of others? Or is it a category imposed by researchers?

The book could have benefited from a more regional and comparative perspective that considered scholarship from Afro-Latin America or the Caribbean. Although Fernandez mentions Brazil, her analysis remains overwhelmingly confined to Cuba. One wonders if the Cuban case is an exception or an interesting variant of the way racial dynamics manifest themselves in gendered and exceedingly contradictory terms in Afro-Latin America.

Despite these shortcomings, I found the book well written, well organized and carefully argued. I appreciated the analysis that weaves in the different voices of Cuban couples as they struggle with the conflicting effects of racial, class, gendered, and revolutionary ideology. Because of its accessible style and the succinct background chapters on Cuban racial history and the topic of romantic love, the book is a fine resource for introductory courses on race in Latin America and the Caribbean.

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*Ye Shall Dream: Patriarch Granville Williams and the Barbados Spiritual Baptists.* Ezra E.H. Griffith. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2010. xiv + 207 pp. (Paper US\$ 25.00)

The Spiritual Baptist religion, which began to take its current form during the latter part of the nineteenth century in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, later appeared in Trinidad and Tobago sometime during the first decades of the twentieth century. More recently, the religion was brought to Barbados from Trinidad by Granville Williams in 1957, and this is the primary subject of *Ye Shall Dream* by Ezra E.H. Griffith.

Griffith's fine work is both ethnographic and biographical, an approach that, as he writes, "has resulted in a melding of biographical portraiture of Williams and psycho-cultural observations of the religious movement he founded" (p. 11). It is this very approach that, in my mind, makes his ethnography an invaluable contribution to the literature on this religion. His focus on Williams allows him to explore the complex dynamic of leadership and authority, which is ordinarily a significant issue in this somewhat decentralized religion comprised of largely autonomous churches, but which, in this case, takes on an added significance given the fact that Williams is himself the founder of the church in Barbados. Griffith's background in psychiatry is evident in his expert exploration of the psycho-therapeutic aspects of the Spiritual Baptist religion, a subject that he turns to time and again.

In Chapter 1, "Framing the Narrative," Griffith discusses his research on Caribbean religions, which has focused primarily on their therapeutic aspects. Chapter 2, "Cultural Context," begins with a discussion of the religious landscape of Barbados, a landscape that has been dominated by colonialism in the form of the Anglican Church although other Protestant faiths are popular as well. There is a brief discussion of "obeah," which Griffith describes as "African-based religious beliefs including sorcery" (p. 16), and it is implied that this somewhat unwelcome ideology nevertheless thrived within the more "proper" religious context of the island. Griffith notes that discrimination against blacks has been a palpable part of the social fabric in Barbados. It was in this general context, then, that Williams, a native Barbadian living in Trinidad where he was a leader in the Spiritual Baptist faith, would move to Barbados in 1957 and attempt to establish a church there.

Chapter 3, "Granville Williams: The Early Years," covers Williams's early life in Barbados, his migration to Trinidad in 1944, and the next thirteen

years of his life, which he spent on that island. Griffith notes that it was during this time in Trinidad that Williams became involved with the Spiritual Baptist Church and eventually established himself as a knowledgeable and charismatic leader in his own right. In Chapter 4, "The Return to Barbados," we learn that, Williams's charisma and abilities as a religious leader notwithstanding, he had to overcome Barbadian biases against the transplanted Trinidadian Spiritual Baptist faith. Griffith notes that Williams was able to attract worshipers by preaching a black/African pride gospel, if you will. This resonated with black Barbadians who had endured a second-tier social status for generations.

Chapter 5, "On Faith and Ritual," provides readers with a detailed description of the various rites and rituals conducted by the Spiritual Baptist Church, including baptism, a typical worship service, and "mourning" (a sensory deprivation ritual where the worshiper goes on a succession of "spiritual travels"). The important role of dreams and visions in the religion are discussed as well. In Chapter 6, "On Visions, Possession and Symbols," Griffith further explores dreams and visions, using the two terms synonymously since it is difficult to make any kind of distinction between them given the way his contacts used the terms. He makes no attempt to critique the veracity of claims regarding visions and dreams and, in fact, notes that "Indeed, much of the time, it seems pointless to worry about trying to verify [their] authenticity" (pp. 31-32). In regard to possession, he points out that Barbadians do not use that term, no doubt because of its association with Orisha worship in Trinidad.

Chapter 7, "On Spiritual Garments," focuses on the distinct religious garb that marks Spiritual Baptist practitioners. Generally speaking, the dress individuals adopt indicates their position in the hierarchy of the Church which, in turn, is related to their spiritual growth and progress in the Church. The complex Church hierarchy, which includes a number of ministerial and non-ministerial positions, is discussed in Chapter 8, "Organizational Structure." Chapter 9, "Further Reflections on the Leader," consists primarily of a discussion of Williams and the way he exercised his authority, which was absolute, in Church affairs. Here Griffith suggests that Williams's efforts to establish a black-oriented and black-themed Spiritual Baptist Church in Barbados could be viewed more generally as an exercise in ethnic and cultural "resistance." Finally, the last chapter, "Ye Shall Dream," revisits the notion of "church as therapy" and also questions whether Williams might

eventually have to compromise his authoritarian role in the church given the democratic aspirations of younger adherents.

*Ye Shall Dream* is a rich exploration not only of an Afro-Caribbean religion but also of the more general topics of resistance, empowerment, and creolization. Griffith's ethnography is a culturally rich, informed, and well-written addition to Afro-Caribbean scholarship. It's a must-read not only for religionists working in this area but also for those interested in the broader topic of ethnicity and empowerment in a colonial context.

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*The Migration of Peoples from the Caribbean to the Bahamas.* Keith L. Tinker. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011. x + 199 pp. (Cloth US\$ 69.95)

Keith Tinker should be commended for tackling the complex topic of Caribbean migration to the Bahamas. He used a wide array of evidence, including colonial government documents, newspapers, books, and interviews with both immigrants and a few Bahamians. Lingering tensions and sensitivities are reflected in the fact that some interviewees, even decades later, requested anonymity for fear of reprisals or negative feedback.

The only previous book on this topic is *The Haitian Problem: Illegal Migration to the Bahamas*, published in 1979, by Dawn Marshall. Tinker constantly references this work regarding more recent Haitian migration. He outlines historical circumstances affecting “sending societies” for the largest numbers of immigrants. These include Barbados, Jamaica, Turks & Caicos Islands, Guyana, and Haiti. Two chapters are devoted to Haiti because of its long history of Bahamian immigration.

As for the “receiving society,” there is no in-depth treatment of circumstances within the Bahamas even though this was done for the “sending societies.” The introduction and Chapter 2, on migration to the Bahamas to 1888, were likely intended for this purpose but neither one effectively illustrates conditions after emancipation. Readers glean details about life in the Bahamas from six chapters examining experiences of Caribbean immigrants.

For the postemancipation period Tinker uses sweeping statements that present a skewed perspective of the experience of Bahamians of African descent. He states, “The post-Emancipation period witnessed a search for a more secure economic base . . . Some Bahamians produced agricultural and marine products . . . Others, however, including many young black men, migrated to Florida, Central, and South America in search of improved employment opportunities” (p. 3). He does not specify when this migration by young black Bahamian men occurred. Before emancipation in the United States in 1865 there was no motivation for black Bahamians, no matter how economically oppressed, to migrate there. It was certainly an option for white Bahamians, and these were the earliest Bahamian emigrants to Florida. The 1852 quote from Governor Rawson W. Rawson demonstrated that the British colonial administration advised black Bahamians against emigrating to the southern United States simply because “Her Majesty’s

free black and Coloured subjects [were] not admitted to the enjoyment within the Southern States of the Union in full and free participation in the privileges and civil rights enjoyed by Her Majesty's white subjects" (p. 34).

Tinker only vaguely acknowledges the role of the British colonial administration on migration among its West Indian territories. Chapter 1 outlines historical migration trends for African-descended populations within the British Caribbean, but the Bahamas is never situated within this regional colonial perspective. It is not coincidental that Caribbean migration to the Bahamas, except for Haiti, was generally from other British colonial territories.

Issues regarding immigration factored into the lead up to Bahamian independence in 1973 and well afterward. A West Indian immigrant voiced this concern in a 1967 letter to the editor of a daily newspaper, claiming that the "Beloved Premier promised a square deal for all Belongers" (p. 77). Tinker notes only that this was a resident status for non-Bahamians, and that "the term 'Expatriate' was used to describe whites, such as Europeans and North Americans, with similar immigrant status" (p. 77). In fact, the "Belonger" status was reserved for immigrants from other British colonial territories.

With this extensive history of legal and illegal immigration the Bahamian government deemed it imperative to determine who could qualify for Bahamian residence status or citizenship. Tinker notes that many Caribbean immigrants only intended to remain temporarily in the Bahamas before moving on to the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom. British colonial immigration policy did not always consider local sentiment, especially from nonelite groups. Additionally, the Bahamas is nearby the two largest Caribbean islands which include the three most populous countries; one of these, Haiti, is the poorest country in the hemisphere. Unlike Cubans, whose country's politics allows them much easier access to the United States, Haitians are considered economic immigrants so migrating to the Bahamas not only provides economic opportunity but is often the most accessible path for many Haitians to eventually get to the United States.

Tinker tries to emphasize the specific contributions of Caribbean immigrants to the Bahamas. Yet his example of the influence of West Indian teachers is more perceived than real. Education and nursing were areas for which the colonial or Bahamian governments never contracted significant numbers of West Indians, the exception being Guyanese teachers

hired in the 1980s. Tinker refers to West Indian teachers sent to Out Island schools in the 1950s and 1960s but by this time these islands were sparsely populated because of internal migration to the capital island of New Providence or outside the country. Teacher training had long been neglected but a teacher training college was established on New Providence in the early 1960s.

Tinker makes an effort to identify issues regarding Caribbean migration to the Bahamas. The impact of this work would have been stronger if he had analyzed conditions within the Bahamas more closely. By not presenting a more dynamic perspective of Bahamian society, into which immigrants were accepted, he leaves readers with quite a stagnant view of the Bahamas as simply a "receiver society."

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*Een zwarte vrijstaat in Suriname: De Okaanse samenleving in de achttiende eeuw.* H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen & Wim Hoogbergen. Leiden, the Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2011. xxiii + 360 pp. (Paper €24.90)

An exceptional synergy emerges when anthropologist H.U.E. Thoden van Velzen and historian Wim Hoogbergen join forces to investigate the early history of a Maroon society in Suriname. In most countries where Maroons existed at some point in time, these peoples and their distinct cultures gradually assimilated into mainstream society. In Suriname, Maroon societies have survived as identifiable ethnic groups with ancient cultural traditions. Their vibrant presence provides a unique opportunity to combine archival study of their early years with oral history research. “A black republic in Suriname: Okan society in the eighteenth century” is the engaging outcome of such an endeavor.

The book is based on written and oral histories gathered during fifty years of research on the Okanisi (also referred to as Aukaners or Ndyuka). The rich narratives told by Okanisi historians are at once an account of the past and an aid to understanding the present. The naming of rivers and creeks, relations with the Aluku Maroons, tensions between different clans, and rules of conduct such as menstrual taboos all find their origin in this eighteenth-century history. It is not surprising, as the authors note, that there are many different versions of what happened and who played important roles during specific events. Their goal is not to find “absolute truth,” to provide exact dating of events, or to eliminate all gaps and uncertainties. Rather, the book’s major contribution is that it records ancient personal memories of a poorly known part of the history of the Americas.

Oral traditions form the foundation of the sociocultural fabric of Suriname’s Maroon societies, maintaining shared history and explaining historical and contemporary events. In addition, Maroon children learn the customary rules and moral codes in order to live well with other members of the community and the spiritual world. Collecting oral histories in any culture is challenging. Recording oral histories in a culture with a deep, historically rooted distrust toward outsiders required years of work, gaining trust, and patience—both by the outside researchers and the Maroon historians.

Thoden van Velzen narrates his 1970 visit to a *kabiten* (village headman) whom he asked to recount the earliest history of his people in Suriname:

He [the *kabiten*] ran frantically back and forth, emphasizing that my ancestors had forcefully taken his *gaansama* [ancestors] from Africa, not for normal work, but to dig in the mud of the coastal plains with the purpose of establishing plantations... [he cried out] "and now you want me to tell you, child of the suppressors, a story?" (pp. 272-273)

Only after a half-century of repetitive stays with the Okanisi could he record the detailed stories presented in this book. What emerges is the portrait of several generations of courageous men and women who fled slavery, created a new life in the rainforest, and used both violence and diplomacy in relations with other Maroon groups and the colonial rulers. Supernatural forces shaped the development of Okanisis' society, from the time of their ancestors in Africa, to the period when they lived as small groups of runaway in the forest, to their establishment as organized societies. Gods, mythical animals, witchcraft, and *obia* dictated when people ran away, where they went, what they encountered, and how they dealt with it. Appeasing spiritual forces required obedience of certain rules. Violating the rules of gods and other spiritual creatures was punished with illness, death, or other misfortune, as a member of the Pataa clan explained:

One day some members from the Pina clan got into an argument with *gaanta* (ancestor) Kofi Abuta of the Pataa clan. It was about a piece of meat. Tata Ogii [God] had prohibited fighting during the time of fleeing in the forest. To punish such disobedience, Tata Ogii made *gaanta* Kofi Abuta choke on a bone. (pp. 81-82)

The accounts of different families and clans are filled with such examples.

*Een zwarte vrijstaat in Suriname* presents stories about a part of Suriname history that every Suriname high school student—and many more people—should learn about. However, even for a reader familiar with Okanisi culture, the density of facts occasionally makes it difficult to keep track of the main story lines. The detail in recording place, person, family, and (sub)clan names is often overwhelming. It would therefore be useful if some of the main "canons" (as the authors call them) could be reworked into a booklet for a wider audience.



Nevertheless, the book is an invaluable asset for the Okanisi Maroons, whose oral traditions are rapidly eroding under the influences of mass media, modern means of communication, and new ways of learning. Furthermore, this admirable work sheds light on an unwritten and little documented part of African Diaspora history as experienced by the people who lived it.

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*In Search of a Path: An Analysis of the Foreign Policy of Suriname from 1975 to 1991.* Roger Janssen. Leiden, the Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2011. xxii + 348 pp. (Paper €34.90)

The foreign policy that Roger Janssen writes about is primarily the promotion of foreign aid. This is a plight that befalls Third World nations everywhere. Suriname might have been the exception to this problem since the Netherlands promised it at independence a “golden handshake” of Nfl 3.35 billion (or US\$ 1.5 billion), the greatest sum per capita of any Third World state. But within a few years, access to these funds was in doubt. Suriname’s political disarray caused the Netherlands to lose faith in its former colony.

Janssen states that wherever one looked, there was no alternative, revealing Paramaribo’s unavoidable “dependence on the Netherlands.” To compensate for this loss, Suriname’s government, in “sudden and strong shifts,” reached out to the Caribbean and beyond, even considering surrendering its very sovereignty to enter a Commonwealth structure of the Dutch Caribbean entities.

What sent Surinamese politics down so many paths? A military coup in 1980 gave the Dutch pause, and the subsequent murder of fifteen prominent pro-democracy leaders by the military in December 1982 led to total suspension of the Dutch aid. Now, desperately, the search was on. Radical leanings of the military leader (Desi Bouterse) led to Libya, Cuba, Ghana, and, briefly, Grenada. A civil war with the Maroons of the Surinamese interior produced new human rights violations, costing Suriname declining domestic support, and, finally, provoking the decision to restore democracy. Janssen explores neither this about-face on the part of the military nor the old democratic parties. He tells us only that a new constitution was agreed upon with a built-in advisory role for the military.

New elections brought the old political parties back to power, though their timidity with Bouterse and company failed to restore the “golden handshake.” Nor did it save the elected leaders from a 1990 “Christmas phone call” that sent the government home.

Viewing Suriname as a “pariah state,” the leaders (both civic and military) had to look for a new path. Solidarity was the only gesture offered by the states in the Non-Aligned Movement. This indeed amounted to a pre-occupation with foreign policy but it brought home no bacon. The Dutch were adamant, as were their friends in the First World, including the United

States and the European Community. New elections were held in May 1991, restoring the old parties to power, but delays on both sides of the Atlantic regarding project determination and the elimination of the military role stymied the resumption of aid. More significantly, there was no talk of a trial for the December or Maroon killings, and the role of drug trafficking (identified with Bouterse and his colleagues) was on the rise.

By the 1990s Ruud Lubbers, the Dutch prime minister, proposed the creation of a Dutch Commonwealth for the former Caribbean peoples. Public opinion in Suriname and the Antilles (where things in their own way were falling apart) was supportive, but the governments involved were unwilling to lose any part of their sovereignty, as puny as it was. At the end of his book, Janssen seems to favor the Commonwealth option. But sadly, the elections of 2010 have kept Suriname on the old fruitless path. Desi Bouterse, now the leader of the New Democratic Party, narrowly won the country's presidency as Suriname provoked a new wall of Dutch intransigence.

Janssen's report is straightforward and thorough. The story is discouraging because of the structural impediment or dependency expressed in a take-it-or-leave-it "patron-client" relationship. Despite its "sudden and strong shifts" of opportunism, there appeared no exit. And Suriname? So much for the "golden handshake"!

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*Variation in the Caribbean: From Creole Continua to Individual Agency.* Lars Hinrichs & Joseph T. Farquharson (eds.). Philadelphia PA: John Benjamins, 2010. 276 pp. (Cloth US\$ 149.00)

This volume, a selection of papers presented at the 2006 Sociolinguistics Symposium in Limerick, is a welcome addition to the current documentation of variation in English-lexifier Caribbean creoles. It will be of interest to linguists and sociolinguistics, anthropologists and literacy specialists alike, and will constitute an excellent text for an undergraduate or graduate course in World Englishes or contact languages. Several geographical areas are illustrated in the eastern Caribbean (Bequia, Barbados, Tobago, Suriname, French Guiana) and western Caribbean (Jamaica), as well as the West Indian diaspora in England. The eleven authors use a variety of sociolinguistic approaches to linguistic variation, and, as is often the case, morphological or syntactic features are predominantly studied, with the exception of Michelle Braña-Straw's study of vowels in the Barbadian diaspora of Ipswich. Linguistic features investigated include future markers in Sranan, relative clauses in Standard Jamaican English, negation in Bequia, various morpho-syntactic features representing Jamaican creolisms, the Tobagonian repertoire, and Eastern Maroon lectal variation in French Guiana. Three chapters deal with broader issues of language attitudes toward Jamaican English, the role of orthography in Bajan writing, and the complexity of identity marking in the mixed Caribbean diaspora of inner-city Manchester. John Rickford's last chapter stands apart as it renders homage to the legacy of Robert Le Page and the contributions of his Acts of Identity model to creole linguistics, as represented in several references throughout the book.

The Jamaican situation is given the lion's share, as it is the subject of three of the eleven chapters in this volume, and also figures in observations of the diaspora in the United Kingdom. In my opinion, the most innovative articles are the two analyses (both based on the ICE-JA corpus) that focus on the development of Jamaican English (acrolectal) in relatively formal contexts. They refer to different features and involve different methodologies, but offer complementary findings on the state of educated Jamaican speech. Ulrike Gut's narrow focus on relativization strategies in professionals' speech ("Relative Markers in Spoken Standard Jamaican English") presents a view of an acrolect that seems to draw from written English, and is

thus sometimes more formal than the Standard English norm (for example in its exclusion of the widespread 'that' relative pronoun). On the other hand, Dagmar Deuber's "The Creole Continuum and Individual Agency: Approaches to Stylistic Variation in Jamaica" incorporates several features (unmarked past, pronouns, idioms, etc.) and a slightly wider range of styles (upper mesolect to high acrolect). Standard English is also the preferred choice, although occasional creolisms enter educated speech as identity and agency markers, often for special effect.

Gut's and Deuber's quantitative analyses of Jamaican English features find their counterpart in Andrea Sand's investigation of language attitudes toward educated Jamaican English usage ("Language Attitudes and Linguistic Awareness in Jamaican English"). Respondents to a questionnaire on the acceptability of Jamaican English forms generally preferred international Standard English norms rather than Jamaican acrolectal forms, which seems to confirm previous claims on the strong influence of prescriptive (written) norms on careful oral varieties. However, it is well known that metalinguistic declarations do not necessarily reflect actual usage, especially in a formal questionnaire context. Nonetheless, all three articles agree in their findings that educated Jamaicans are very aware of the status of formal speech and strive toward it.

The two diaspora chapters are important given the history of extensive Caribbean migration to various British cities, now in its fifth or sixth decade. Current patterns of interethnic mixing and social mobility lead to novel types of network contacts and new linguistic combinations. Michelle Braña-Straw's study of phonological variation ("Putting Individuals Back in Contact: Accommodation Strategies by Barbadians in Ipswich") is a fine-grained analysis of the complex situation, taking into account multiple convergent influences from Jamaicans and from Ipswich Anglos. The phonetic distribution of the vowels of *goose*, *trap*, *bath*, *lot* and *thought* reveals that British Barbadians have approximated Anglo (Suffolk) vowels to various degrees, and more so naturally for those who have the most access to looser social networks with Anglos, and have attained upward mobility. The other diasporic Afro-Caribbean community documented here is located in Manchester and includes mixed-race families, with black Caribbean and white British members (" 'Creole' and Youth Language in a British Inner-City Community" by Susan Dray and Mark Sebba). No evidence of an extended use of Creole is found in the group of adolescents studied,

although specific creole forms (phonological features or lexical items) and performance styles do occur, indicating that young people evolve in unconstrained social networks and have developed an “international hood” in which ethnicity does not play a defining role in language behavior.

Other chapters reflect more traditional, though no less interesting, approaches to linguistic variation in creole contexts. Donald Winford’s examination of future markers in Sranan (“Revisiting Variation between ‘sa’ and ‘o’ in Sranan”) incorporates a historical perspective to explain the semantic distinctions that still obtain in the two markers, at least in certain styles. It turns out that the special modal meaning associated with *sa* can be attributed to an old Dutch item. The variationist model informs James A. Walker and Jack Sidnell’s study of negation in Bequia (“Inherent Variability and Coexistent Systems”), demonstrating amazing linguistic variability in the three communities of the tiny island of Bequia (located right across from St. Vincent). Another example of variability is documented in Valerie Youssef’s “The Varilingual Repertoire of Tobagonian Speakers”; speakers exhibit extensive lectal variation, consistent with the existence of a creole continuum accessible to each individual. Thus Tobago exhibits the same linguistic flexibility that has been documented in many other creole communities to reflect multidimensional identity. However, Youssef states in her conclusion that she observed a trend toward a community preference for the mesolect, away both from basilects and acrolects. This trend, if verified, would signal a leveling of the continuum leading to a variety akin to African-American English in the United States, but it can be hoped that this may be an artifact of the methodology used in the data collection.

The complex ethnic and linguistic situation of the Eastern Maroon communities results in innovative varieties, as documented by Bettina Migge and Isabelle Légise (“On the Emergence of New Language Varieties: The Case of the Eastern Maroon Creole in French Guiana”). Linguistic diversification is described as involving apparently contradictory dynamic processes—convergence and divergence—that reflect multiple types of interactions available in this multiethnic society. The stylistic innovations mentioned in this chapter seem to be more appropriately defined as code-switching, an expected phenomenon in this multilingual context, and the overall dynamic of language development is characterized as leveling, which may appear contrary to diversification. However, one sentence in this interesting discussion of the Eastern Maroon language practices is

surprising: “some Creoles are described as more or less mono-stylistic (e.g. Belize)” (p. 208). This statement is in direct contradiction with the chapters presented above—all documenting extensive stylistic variation. Furthermore, the reference to Belize as monostylistic is particularly shocking to this reviewer, who personally and extensively documented the broad stylistic variability available to practically all members of the Belizean community of Placencia, and the social and pragmatic values associated with the various lects.

Janina Fenigsen’s “‘Flying at Half-mast’? Voices, Genres, and Orthographies in Barbadian Creole” presents an ideological framework on the orthographical representations of Creole identity which is drastically different from the approaches adopted in other chapters. Considering that literacy is traditionally associated with the Standard (dominant) variety, it is not surprising that written approximations of Bajan speech be met with critical reactions, and only evoke cartoonish parody, thus reflecting negative attitudes obviously inherited from colonization. The debate about creole writing is ongoing in most Caribbean societies, and it is clear that Barbadian writers (as elsewhere) are faced with serious challenges when trying to represent local identity through language, but it is hoped that they will eventually persuade their readership.

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*Island Shores, Distant Pasts: Archaeological and Biological Approaches to the Pre-Columbian Settlement of the Caribbean.* Scott M. Fitzpatrick & Ann H. Ross (eds.). Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010. xvi + 246 pp. (Cloth US\$ 75.00)

When did pre-Columbian settlement occur in the Caribbean? How many waves of migration were there and where did these settlers come from? Although previous research has provided some answers, this edited volume shows how innovative methodologies can provide new insights to these classic questions. The contributing scholars draw from the latest research in radiocarbon dating, genetics, skeletal biology, computer simulation, and isotopic analysis to create a rich and nuanced understanding of pre-Columbian Caribbean settlement.

The one name that appears in nearly every paper is that of Irving Rouse, who created the best-known model for Caribbean settlement. Rouse's model was based largely on varying material culture traditions, particularly ceramic traditions, found throughout the Antilles. However, as many of the authors point out (most cogently in the chapter by Reniel Rodríguez Ramos, Joshua M. Torres, and José R. Oliver), using material culture traditions has certain limitations, particularly when establishing absolute dates for migration. Unfortunately for Rouse, carbon dating was still in its infancy when he did much of his studies; he created his model relying on only a few radiocarbon dates.

The attraction of using radiocarbon dating to explore early human migrations is understandable. Yet the chapter by Jaco Cooper and the one by Scott M. Fitzpatrick, Michiel Kappers, and Christina M. Giovas clearly demonstrate that it is more complex than usually thought. They show that a complete understanding of site formation processes and depositional histories is needed if accurate dates are to be achieved. Indeed, this volume is not for the scientific faint of heart as many of the chapters include detailed discussions about the science that influences the research. While those interested in the authors' final conclusions will skim these sections, the inclusion of this information is important for other scholars wishing to utilize similar methodologies.

One of the exciting approaches to human migration studies comes from three chapters that focus on biological data. Juan C. Martínez-Cruzado and Theodore G. Schurr explore how genetic information, particularly



mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), can be used to trace human migration in the past. Mitochondrial DNA is inherited from the mother and has a rapid mutation rate. These two factors allow scholars to map particular mtDNA variations through space and time. Both authors demonstrate how these new sources of data add greater complexity to our understanding of the peopling of the Caribbean. Along similar lines, the chapter by Ann H. Ross and Douglas H. Ubelaker utilizes craniometric and geometric morphometric methods to convincingly argue that the Taíno of Cuba were significantly different biologically from the Taíno peoples of Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica.

Not to be lost amongst these biological approaches are the intriguing papers by William F. Keegan and Richard T. Callaghan. Keegan utilizes a comparative approach to understanding cultural changes and human migration. Through an innovative project that compares the settling of the Caribbean and Polynesia, Keegan searches for the cultural and social reasons for the observed settlement patterns. Also curious about the particularities of why settlement patterns appear the way they do, the Callaghan contribution utilizes computer models to explore the settlement pattern of the Lesser Antilles during the Archaic Age. In particular, Callaghan teases out the effects that the active volcanoes in the region had on both archaeological site formation and Caribbean settlement.

There is one odd paper amongst the bunch. Menno L.P. Hoogland, Corinne L. Hofman, and Raphaël G.A.M. Panhuysen do not directly deal with Caribbean settlement, but utilize strontium analysis to demonstrate the connections between Guadeloupe and its surrounding islands. While slightly off theme, I felt that the inclusion of this article was essential. Hoogland et al. drive home a point that all of the authors either implicitly or explicitly make: people did not move through the Caribbean islands as if they were stepping stones that once left were long forgotten. Instead, there was always movement between islands in all directions which created significant cultural and social relationships. The peopling of the Caribbean was not simply a unidirectional northerly spread but rather a creation of a dynamic region where people moved constantly both on the islands and between the islands.

The only qualm I have with the book is that the introduction includes only a brief description of the essays. This is particularly striking as the following chapter has in-depth summaries of many of the papers along with

its own research-based argument. If the first half of Chapter 2 had been included with the introduction, the book would have been framed by a literature review with summaries to prepare readers for the ensuing material. However, this is only a minor organizational critique.

*Island Shores, Distant Pasts* is an exemplar of the scientific process. Building on the work of their archaeological predecessors, particularly Irving Rouse, the authors do not seek to tear these early works down but rather build upon them. They recognize the value in the previous studies while also highlighting the limits. To address these limits, they look beyond the field of archaeology to include new techniques from genetics, computer simulation, and physical anthropology. By taking these techniques and integrating them with archaeology, the authors demonstrate how rewarding interdisciplinary studies can be. The volume unquestionably moves our understanding of the settling of the Caribbean forward and provides several new provocative avenues for further exploration.

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*Beyond the Blockade: New Currents in Cuban Archaeology.* Susan Kepecs, L. Antonio Curet & Gabino La Rosa Corzo (eds.). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010. ix + 206 pp. (Paper US\$ 22.95)

This important volume is a testament to the tenacity of Cuban and U.S. scholars determined to dismantle the political and economic barriers that have impeded collaborative archaeological scholarship in Cuba. Despite economic challenges that have limited the pursuit of archaeological research in Cuba, political agendas that have rigidly dictated the direction of Cuban archaeological research, and a U.S. policy that has stifled the exchange of information between Cuban and U.S. scholars, the essays show that Cuban archaeology has made valuable contributions to our understanding of the cultural processes that have shaped life in the Caribbean in both prehispanic and historic periods and added significantly to our understanding of past Cuban peoples. The collection, one of only a few studies of Cuban archaeology published in English in the United States, includes essays by both Cuban and U.S. scholars which highlight current trends in Cuban archaeology. It recognizes the past pioneers of joint Cuban-U.S. archaeological projects and pays homage to those researchers, including Betty Meggers and Lourdes Dominguez, who sustained scholarly contact across the Florida Straits despite geopolitical roadblocks. The essays represent a good blend of site-specific archaeological studies and broad overviews addressing key themes in the history of joint Cuban and U.S. archaeological initiatives over the past century.

Archaeological research concerning the historic post-Columbian era has received a great deal of attention in Cuba. Kathleen Deagan's thoughtful essay on the trajectory of Cuban historical archaeology highlights the interconnected histories and shared concerns of archaeologists working in both Florida and Cuba. Deagan, who visited Cuba in 1983 and worked alongside Cuban scholars, argues that were it not for modern geopolitical barriers, Cuba and Florida would be studied archaeologically as a single unit of analysis due to the shared social, political, and economic exchanges that made them a coherent culture area. Deagan highlights the contributions of Cuban scholars, including Fernando Ortiz, whose ideas about transculturation and ethnogenesis have helped shape the direction of archaeological scholarship in the United States, especially in Florida. Iosvany Hernández Mora's creative interpretation of Cuban patrimony and the role of archaeology in

architectural restoration also reminds us of the value of interdisciplinary research. Other historic period sites addressed in this volume include a fascinating analysis by Roberto Valcárcel Rojas, Marcos Martín-Torres, Jago Cooper, and Thilo Rehren of the site of El Chorro de Maíta, an indigenous cemetery revealing the impact of Spanish influence on indigenous burial practices in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The researchers discuss evidence for changes in indigenous mortuary practices after Spanish colonization and the indigenous use and modification of Spanish goods in burial contexts, such as the incorporation of European-introduced brass into traditional indigenous body ornamentation. Gabino La Rosa Corzo, whose studies of Cuban Maroon sites have made important contributions to our understanding of marronage throughout the Americas, outlines the work on Maroon communities in Cuba and highlights the evidence for the continuity of African cultural traditions.

The archaeological study of prehispanic traditions in Cuba has also enhanced our understanding of pre-Columbian peoples throughout the Caribbean. Daniel Torres Etayo's excellent essay critically examines the way revolutionary ideology in Cuba after 1959 led to the emergence of a rigid historical materialist framework for Cuban archaeologists that negated the existence of social complexity and the hierarchical nature of prehispanic social groupings, and shows how this has obfuscated Cuba's place within broader archaeological debates surrounding the emergence of Caribbean chiefdoms. Using advanced archaeological techniques and drawing on architectural evidence from the site of Laguna de Limones on the eastern tip of Cuba, Torres Etayo shows that chiefdoms were established in eastern Cuba similar to those in other areas of the Greater Antilles. The site of Laguna de Limones contained a large plaza and ceremonial complex, and probably incorporated smaller surrounding villages into its sphere of influence. Vernon James Knight Jr. examines the history of collaborative archaeological work at the site of Loma del Convento, an early prehispanic site that seems to challenge popular theories about the displacement of hunting/gathering groups in Cuba by agricultural migrants from Hispaniola. According to Knight, simplistic displacement models fail to recognize the complex interactions and exchanges that occurred between agriculturalists and hunter/gatherers in the Greater Antilles. Moreover, while archaeologists have generally overlooked evidence for chiefdom level societies in Cuba, Knight argues that the site of Loma del Convento shows clear signs

of social complexity consistent with a small chiefdom. Lorenzo Morales Santos outlines recent discoveries in stone tool technology in Cuba, which may reveal fresh information about the chronology and development of lithic technology, as well as information about the earliest migrants to Cuba and their settlement patterns. Jago Cooper, Roberto Valcárcel Rojas, and Jorge Calvera explore coastal sites, such as Los Buchillones, to shed new light on the wooden structures, settlement patterns, diet, and woodworking activities of small wetland communities that made up a broad regional interaction sphere along the northern coast of Cuba.

*Beyond the Blockade* underscores the importance of collaborative archaeological work in the Caribbean and offers new hope of a bright future for Cuban and U.S. partnerships. It adds significantly to our understanding of the processes of transculturation, ethnogenesis, and interaction and exchange that have shaped the Caribbean region in both historic and prehispanic times and is a must read for all serious scholars of Caribbean archaeology.

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